



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)**

PART 11 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 14

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 14 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORT TO OFFICE

NEW YORK

OFFICE OF ORIGIN

ATLANTA

DATE

INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD

10/20/67 - 12/29/67

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

REPORT MADE BY

TYPED BY

dem

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS-SNCC

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVICTED ACTS

FUG.

FINES

SAVINGS

RECOVERIES

ACQUIT-
TALS

CASE HAS BEEN:

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED

COPIES MADE:

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW ST 105

- 9-Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- 2-Atlanta (100-5488) (RM)
- 3-108th MI Group (RM)
- 1-OSI (RM)
- 1-NISO (RM)
- 2-New York (100-147953)

100-439190-34-
4 JAN 9 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

AGENCY

AGENCY: ACSI, NIO, OSI, SEC. SERV.

Request Recd.

HOW

Date Recd.

DATE

By

BY

66 JAN 18 1968

Notations

INT. SEC.

Adm. page 4 info Sec. 1

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONTINUED):

The following SAS observed the demonstrations reported herein:

At U.S. Court House,
NYC, on 2/5/65

SAS [REDACTED] and

At the U.S. Mission to
UN, NYC, on 3/18/63

SAS [REDACTED] and

At FBI, NYC, on
6/21/65

SAS [REDACTED] and

At Apollo Theatre,
Harlem, NY, on 7/12/66

SAS [REDACTED] and

At Cuban Mission,
NYC, 6/7/67

SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
JAMES RUFUS FORMAN

[REDACTED]
SHIRLEY WRIGHT

[REDACTED]
JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY

Miss WILEY, a coordinator of SMOG

NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON is Fund Raising Chairman for SNCC

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

Mr. LESTER is described as SNCC Photographer

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

Miss SUTHERLAND is described as Coordinator of Public Information Projects for SNCC.

BOBBI JONES

BOBBI JONES is described as Staff Member of SNCC.

ELLA J. BAKER

Miss BAKER is described as Advisor to SNCC.

WILLIAM HALL

WILLIAM HALL is described as Field Representative of SNCC and is one of the SNCC leaders in the NY area.

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ADMINISTRATIVE CONTINUED:

ROBERT ELLIOT FULLILOVE III

ROBERT FULLILOVE, Negro, male, was described as an employee of SNCC, NYO, as of August, 1966, and has not been reportedly active in SNCC since April, 1967. [REDACTED]

ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH, a SNCC activist in the NY area [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

100-147963-1439

100-154616-44

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

157-1227-1B4 (7)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
PAUL EDWARD BROOKS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-68229-1016, 1070

[REDACTED]

100-68229-1217

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-57639-590, 571

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

[REDACTED] 100-97078-6634

[REDACTED] 100-147963-590

[REDACTED] 100-25780-2630

[REDACTED] 100-110803-406

[REDACTED] 100-158457-51

[REDACTED] 100-147963-645

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-147963

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-147963

[REDACTED]

100-147963

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-147963-1411

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
PAUL EDWARD BROOKS

[REDACTED]

100-147963-1246

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Used to characterize
VICTOR RABINOWITZ

[REDACTED]

100-147963-1066

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

100-147963-1206

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-26603-1A

100-147963-173, 337, 646, 1149

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
HERBERT APTHEKER

Used to characterize
LOUISE R. BERMAN

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONTINUED:

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
ALVA BUXENBAUM

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
ROSE M. COE

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
WILLIAM EPTON

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
EUGENE GORDON

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
WILLIAM MC ADOO

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
GIBBY NEEDLEMAN

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
VICTOR RABINOWITZ

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
JOHN WILSON

NY 100-147953

- LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will set up a six-month's administrative tickler for submission of another report in this case on 6/10/68.

-K*-
(COVER PAGE)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Copy to: 3-108th MI GROUP (RM)
1-OSI (RM)
1-NISO (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED]
Date:

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 100-147963

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis: SNCC, NYO, is located in rooms 802 and 803 at 100 Fifth Ave., NYC. The International Affairs Division of SNCC is located in the same premises. JAMES FORMAN is Director of the NYO of SNCC as well as being in charge of its International Affairs Division. Other officers and staff members of SNCC identified.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] International Affairs Division of SNCC set up May, 1967. Activities of this division in the areas of Latin-American affairs and African affairs set forth [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] statements by ROY WILKINS of NAACP and DREW PEARSON, Radio Commentator, point out a change in position on the part of SNCC from pro-integration to "Black Racist" Leadership of SNCC described in August, 1967, as taken over by "Apostles of Violence." At the rally in St. Albans Plaza Theatre, Queens, NY, 8/6/67, H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC, urged Negroes to arm themselves against the white conspiracy of genocide. Instances of SNCC disruptive tactics set forth. In demonstrations and rallies during the period 2/23/66 to October, 1967, SNCC manifested its opposition to US Government policy in Viet Nam and its campaign of draft resistance. Evidence set forth of SNCC support and sympathy for the Communist movement and of SNCC participation in affairs sponsored by such organizations as WEB. Du Bois Club, Harlem Council for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

~~SECRET~~

-P*-

~~SECRET~~
SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

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DETAILS:

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is being referred to throughout this report by its initials SNCC.

Individuals and organizations which are characterized in appendix I (individuals) and appendix II (organizations) have been designated in this report with an asterisk.

I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location

SNCC, New York Office, currently occupies rooms 802 and 803 at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This building is managed by Vogar Realities, 131 West 58th Street, New York City. SNCC renewed this lease April 26, 1966, and it is not due to expire until May 31, 1969. The individual representing SNCC who signed the lease was ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*. An earlier lease signed in 1964 bore the signature JAMES FORMAN as Executive Secretary of SNCC.

[REDACTED]
August 28, 1967

As of September, 1967, the International Affairs Division of SNCC was located in the same offices as its New York headquarters, namely rooms 802 and 803, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. JAMES FORMAN was in charge of this operation for SNCC.

[REDACTED]
September 18, 1967

B. Officers and Staff Members

The officers and staff members of SNCC, New York Office, are the following:

JAMES FORMAN	Director
SHIRLEY WRIGHT	Assistant Director
JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY	Program Coordinator
JOHN WILSON*	Fund-Raising Chairman
JULIUS LESTER*	Photographer

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ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*

Coordinator of Public Information Projects
Staff Member
Advisor
Field Secretary
Staff Member
Staff Member

BOBBI JONES

ELLA J. BAKER

WILLIAM HALL

LOIS WILEY

ROBERT SMITH

JAMES FORMAN

JAMES FORMAN served as Office Manager of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, as of November, 1967.

██████████
November 1, 1967

A circular issued by the New York Office of SNCC dated July, 1967, and entitled "An Urgent Message From New York SNCC" was signed by JAMES FORMAN as Director, New York Office.

The "New York Courier", November 18, 1967, page five, contained an article on SNCC which described JAMES FORMAN as Director of the International Affairs Division of SNCC and of its New York Office.

SHIRLEY WRIGHT

As of November, 1967, SHIRLEY WRIGHT was a member of the Office Staff of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

██████████
November 1, 1967

An article in the New York "Amsterdam News", July 23, 1966, page three, related that the New York Office of SNCC had announced the appointment of its new Assistant Director, namely, Miss SHIRLEY WRIGHT. The following background information concerning SHIRLEY WRIGHT was contained in this article.

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"Miss WRIGHT, a 22-year old New Yorker, has been on the staff of SNCC since spring, 1965. Before coming to the N. Y. office, she worked in the Northern Coordination department of SNCC's national office in Atlanta; she has also spent time in all of SNCC's Southern projects."

JEAN ELIZABETH WILEY

JEAN WILEY acts as Program Coordinator in the New York office of SNCC. She is one of the principal assistants to JAMES FORMAN in the New York office. During August, 1967, she played a major role in coordinating the raising of bail for H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman, SNCC.

JEAN WILEY, prior to becoming associated with SNCC in New York City, taught at Howard University in Washington, D. C. She is a Negress, about 26 years of age, and is described as "quiet and efficient."

[REDACTED]
October 3, 1967

JOHN WILSON

JOHN WILSON, as of September, 1967, was serving as Fund-Raising Chairman of SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

[REDACTED]
September 1, 1967

JOHN WILSON resides at 520 East 12th Street, New York City. JOHN WILSON and JAMES FORMAN are alledged to have taken over H. RAP BROWN's speaking engagements.

[REDACTED]
October, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER

JULIUS LESTER was described as a Negro organizer for SNCC as of September, 1966.

[REDACTED]
September 28, 1966

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JULIUS LESTER was reported as a key-man in photography work for SNCC as of July, 1967.

[REDACTED]
July 6, 1967

RICARDO ALARCON, Ambassador, Cuban Mission to the United Nations, New York City, on July 18, 1967, obtained permission from Havana, Cuba, for JULIUS LESTER to visit Cuba.

[REDACTED]
July 18, 1967

JULIUS BERNARD LESTER's application for United States Passport facilities dated March 8, 1967, reflected his permanent address as 329 West 21st Street, New York City. He was last married on December 22, 1962 to JOAN BRINKWORTH STEIN. His occupation was listed as writer and photographer.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND*

The head of the New York office of SNCC as of April, 1966 was ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND.

[REDACTED]
April 5, 1966

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, described as Director of the New York office of SNCC, was present at a luncheon and round-table discussion held under the auspices of the National Guardian* at the Tavern on the Green, Central Park West and 57th Street, New York City, on April 12, 1966.

[REDACTED]
April 19, 1966

An article in the New York "Amsterdam News", July 23, 1966, page three, reflects that ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND formerly held the office of Director, New York office, SNCC, until about July, 1966. It was narrated that she no longer held this position but did remain on the New York staff as Writer and Coordinator of Public Information Projects.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND worked regularly at the SNCC office 100 Fifth Avenue, up until about the summer of 1967. Thereafter, she appeared for brief periods only on occasion at the New York office.

[REDACTED]
October 10, 1967

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BOBBI JONES

BOBBI JONES, Negro, female, is described as a Staff Member of SNCC in New York. She handles money and checks that come into the office and confidential expenditures of the office. She is well-liked by members of SNCC and lives with her husband MATTHEW JONES at 130 West 87th Street, New York City. It has been noticed that BOBBI JONES is very much in control whenever SNCC has a table or booth selling posters, records, and printed matter. All money collected from such sales is turned over to her.

[REDACTED]
October 3, 1967

ELLA J. BAKER

A program covering a teach-in at New York University, New York City, October 28, 1965, sponsored by the New York University Friends of SNCC listed ELLA BAKER as an Advisor of SNCC. She was also listed as a speaker at this teach-in which concerned the general subject "New Directions in Civil Rights".

[REDACTED]
November 29, 1965

WILLIAM HALL

A rally billed as a benefit for SNCC was held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, 1 West 122nd Street, New York City, on August 29, 1965. This was attended by approximately 190 persons. WILLIAM HALL, identified as a SNCC Field Secretary, was a speaker at this rally.

[REDACTED]
August 30, 1965


A field worker in Alabama for SNCC made the statement in September, 1965, that WILLIAM HALL, a former Project Director for SNCC for the Third Congressional District of Alabama, had gone to New York City where he was expected to engage in SNCC work in Harlem.

[REDACTED]
September 18, 1965

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- ROBERT SMITH

ROBERT SMITH was described as on the Staff of the
New York Office of SNCC as of December 6, 1967.


December 6, 1967

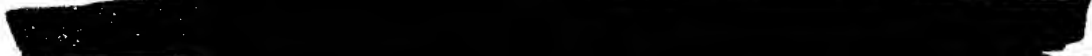












[REDACTED]

USA [REDACTED]

April 17, 1967

3) Fund Raising Events

An article in the Herald Tribune, April 26, 1965, entitled "SNCC Plans a Fight to Unseat Mississippi Congressmen" stated that SNCC announced plans on April 25, 1965, to unseat Mississippi's five Congressmen. The article also narrated that a major fund-raising dinner was held by SNCC on April 25, 1965, at the New York Hilton Hotel at \$100.00 a plate. Some 1500 people allegedly attended this affair and approximately \$125,000.00 was raised. The dinner marked the 5th Anniversary of SNCC.

The "New York Post", March 21, 1966, page 2, carried an article entitled "All Star Cast Leads Tribute to SNCC". The article related that several actors participated in a tribute to SNCC at a \$100.00 a plate benefit at the Hilton Hotel, New York City, on the evening of March 20, 1966. Nearly 1,000 persons allegedly attended this benefit which was addressed by JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC.

A benefit concert for SNCC was held on Saturday evening, April 2, 1966, at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City, 688 people attended. The lease for the hall for this occasion dated March 17, 1966, was signed by ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND* as Director of New York Office of SNCC, 100 5th Avenue, New York City.

[REDACTED]
April 5, 1966

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On December 22, 1966, SNCC sponsored a jazz concert at the Village Theatre, 105 2nd Avenue, New York City, the purpose of which was to raise funds for SNCC. A \$2.00 admission fee was charged and some 400 people attended the concert. STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an appearance at the concert at 10:15 pm. He spoke for approximately five minutes and protested United States intervention in Vietnam.

[REDACTED]

December 27, 1966

II. ACTIVITIES OF SNCC INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS DIVISION.

A. General Information

[REDACTED]

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED]
January 10, 1965

On June 13, 1967, JAMES FORMAN of SNCC, New York, made the statement that he had recently taken over the New York SNCC Office as its International Director and that he was seeking to establish contact with other militant civil rights groups for summer projects.

[REDACTED]

June 23, 1967

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
November 9, 1967

Unsolicited mail received by an occupant of an apartment at [REDACTED] was made available to SA [REDACTED] on November 24, 1967. It contained a letter in an envelope which bore the return address "H. RAP BROWN, 100 5th Avenue, New York City, Room 803." The letter from SNCC was signed by H. RAP BROWN as Chairman of SNCC. He states: "SNCC officially declared itself a Human Rights Organization in May, 1967." He stated further that SNCC has established an office of International Affairs in New York City, "in order to link its efforts with liberation movements around the world.....Our brothers in South Africa and Rhodesia have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against their oppressors. To aid them we are trying to mobilize support against the possibility of United States intervention on behalf of the White South African Government. We are encouraging the development of nation-wide liberation schools, a concept with which SNCC pioneered during the 1964 Mississippi summer project".

[REDACTED]

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B. Latin-American Affairs

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
May 20, 1967

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
May 26, 1967

NY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
June 6, 1967

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND was observed by a Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) entering the Cuban Mission, 6 East 67th Street, New York City on June 7, 1967.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
June 20, 1967

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] made available on September 22, 1967, copies of press releases which covered a press conference given by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JULIUS LESTER of SNCC while they were in Havana, Cuba, on August 13, 1967. The following statements

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of CARMICHAEL are excerpted from these press releases:

"We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States since there is no other way to obtain our homes, our lands and our rights."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL's explanation of black power in the press release is the following:

"It is the union of the Negro population who fight for liberation by any means whatsoever. It is the union of the Negro population of the United States with the oppressed peoples of the rest of the world".

A reporter asked if United States whites who call themselves liberals have joined the present Negro movement. Both CARMICHAEL and LESTER answered the question:

"Whites who call themselves liberals are enemies of the Negro struggle since, in general, they are rich people who derive benefits from the system. And we are fighting to destroy that system that oppresses us and brings about tragedy."

The above sources also made available a copy of the speech of United States Representative STOKELY CARMICHAEL at the First Conference of Latin - American Solidarity (CLAS) held in Havana, Cuba, July 31 - August 10, 1967. The following statements by STOKELY CARMICHAEL are excerpted from this speech:

"We greet you as comrades because it becomes increasingly clear to us each day that we share with you a common struggle; we have a common enemy. Our enemy is white western imperialistic society."

"We speak with you comrades because we wish to make clear that we understand that our destinies are intertwined. Our world can only be a third world: our only struggle, for the third world; our only vision, of the third world."

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"The 'civil rights movement' could never attract and hold the young bloods who clearly understood the savagery of white United States who had to meet this savagery with armed resistance. It is the 'young bloods' who contain especially the hatred CHE GUEVARA speaks of when he says, 'hatred is an element of the struggle - relentless hatred of the enemy that impels us over and beyond the natural limitations of many and transforms us into effective, violent, selective and cold killing machines.' The black power movement has been the catalyst for the bringing together of these young bloods: a real revolutionary proletariat ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people.

Cuba

"Our people are a colony within the United States; you are colonies outside the United States. It is more than a figure of speech to say that the black communities in America are the victims of white imperialism and colonial exploitation.

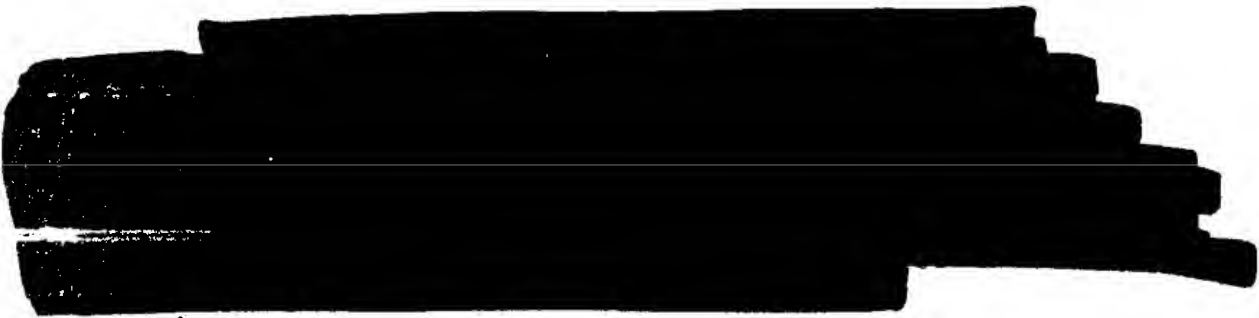
"The true potential revolutionaries in this country are the black people of the ghetto - those who had developed insurgence in the cities and African - American and Latin communities where past rebellions had taught important lessons in dealing with the government's armed reaction to our uprising.

"This rebellion should not be taken lightly. In the past three years there have been over 100 uprisings in the internal colonies of the United States..... These are major rebellions with numbers of participants who are developing a consciousness of resistance.

"During the past year we have facilitated a black resistance to the draft movement, not only because we are against black men fighting their brothers in Vietnam, but also because we are certain that the next Vietnam will be on this continent.

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"As the resistance struggle escalates, we are well aware of the reality of CHE GUEVARA's words that the 'struggle will not be a mere street fight but will be long and harsh'. In the end our common brotherhood sustains us all as we fight for our liberation by any means necessary."



October 13, 1967

Internal Affairs

"The New York Post", June 14, 1967, page two, contained an article entitled, "SNCC In Plea To Afro-Asia". The following is quoted from the article:

"The Student⁴ Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has petitioned all African and Asian Missions to the UN to pressure the U.S. government into wiping out racial discrimination in the U.S.

"The petition contended that the U.S. government is critical of racial injustice in other countries but fails to move against it in America.

"James Forman, SNCC Director of International Affairs, said the immediate basis for the appeal was the violence Sunday in Birmingham, Ala., during which former SCLC chairman Stokely Carmichael was arrested."

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
September 7, 1967

[REDACTED]
September 13, 1967

[REDACTED] on September 3, 1967, made available a two page leaflet dated August 27, 1967, issued by SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, setting forth a telegram sent by SNCC to "His Excellency HOUPHOUTE BOIGNY, President, Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occasion of his visit to the United States." The following is quoted from the letter:

"We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people to release Mr. Ibrahima Teavogui and Mr. Achkar Haref, two officials of the Guinean government, detained by you while they were enroute from the United Nations.

"Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we Afro-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and brought

against their will to the United States. We have been resisting this forced slavery ever since we were captured on the shores of Africa. The recent rebellions in Newark and Detroit are just the latest in a long line of slave revolts and resistance to the rupture from our culture and our degrading condition in the United States. We want you to know, Sir, that many of us -- we the Overseas Africans -- are becoming more and more conscious of our responsibilities to our African brothers as they are becoming more aware of their responsibilities to us. Therefore, Sir, we cannot sit idly by while people who represent the United Nations are held in detention while travelling enroute to their home country.

"Also, Mr. President, we must tell you that the Guinean delegation and especially Mr. Harof have always championed the cause of the African Americans. Therefore, his imprisonment is a detriment to our struggle as well as to the African liberation movement."

The letter is signed among others JAMES FORMAN, H. RAP Brown, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL. The letter indicated that "for further information contact International Affairs Commission, SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City."

The "National Guardian" newspaper September 16, 1967, on page eight, set forth a press interview of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Field Representative of SNCC, conducted in Algeria, North Africa. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was interviewed September 7, 1967, by a reporter for the Algerian Press Service. Portions of the interview were made available exclusively to the "National Guardian" in the United States. The following questions by the Algerian Press Service and answers by STOKELY CARMICHAEL concerning the recent Middle East crisis was excerpted from the press interview:

"SNCC was the only major organization in the United States to support the Arab countries in the recent Middle East crisis. What was the basis for this stand?"

"We regard that the Jews have been mistreated for centuries and centuries. We understand and we sympathize with

the loss of six million Jews under Nazism. However, the Jews are not the only people to be persecuted. Africans have been persecuted for years and years. We lost 100 million people during the slave era alone. Our persecution comes from the white man. The persecution of the Jews comes from the white man. There is no need for the Jews to turn around because the white man persecuted them, and persecute the Africans and especially the Arabs. If the Jews want a state of their own it seems to me that what they should have done after the war when the white Western powers were dividing up Germany was to demand that they be given a part of Germany. It was Germany that exterminated them. Germany was divided up - to the victor belong the spoils. But for the Jews to use the extermination of the Jews in Germany by Germans as an excuse to take land from the Arabs is clearly unjust."

On November 1, 1967, H. RAP BROWN and JAMES FORMAN of SNCC attended a party at the United Nations in celebration of the national independence of Algeria. Attendance at this affair was by invitation only.

November 2, 1967

On December 5, 1967, H. RAP BROWN held a press conference on the 11th floor of the United Nations Methodist Church, 44th Street and First Avenue, New York City at 2:00 p.m. A copy of a letter from H. RAP BROWN of SNCC was made available to members of the press from the International Affairs Division of SNCC. This letter was dated December 4, 1967, and was addressed by H. RAP BROWN to U THANT, General Secretary of the United Nations, New York City. The letter stated as follows:

"In response to the strong appeal made by the South West Africa National United Front leaders to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, namely:

1. 'That the United Nations General Assembly must authorize the Council for South West Africa to recruit and train volunteers for a United Nations Peace Force to expel the racist colonial South African regime from South West Africa.'

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"We, African-American citizens of the United States of America, are prepared to organize and to establish the AFRICAN-AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL MILITARY BRIGADE for South West Africa for the purpose of:

1. Serving as a United Nations Peace Force for South West Africa in cooperation with the South West African liberation organizations;
2. Insuring by force the entrance of the United Nations Council into South West Africa, and;
3. Providing material assistance to the South West African liberation movement."

[REDACTED]
December 5, 1967

III. SNCC MILITANCY

a. New Initiative 11a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
March 24, 1965

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an article by ROY WILKINS, head of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) appears in the "New York Post", June 4, 1966, page 37. The article is entitled, "SNCC's New Road". In it, ROY WILKINS discusses SNCC's changed position. He stated that SNCC had declared that it was "no longer interested in integration." A "new gang" took over in SNCC and the "whites have been booted out". WILKINS stated that "SNCC had formally chosen a racist course, that is, black racist."

EDWIN PEARSON, Radio Commentator, made the following statements in a broadcast over Radio Station WINS, New York, on August 12, 1967, at 10:15 p.m.:

"The leadership of SNCC has been taken over by apostles of violence. Most of them believe in the brand of Communism preached in Peking. They also no longer try very hard to hide their Communist sympathies. The most notorious SNCC leader, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, is not the only one that has been attending Communist conferences. He was accompanied to Havana by two other SNCC leaders JULIUS ROBERTS* and ~~REBECCA~~ ~~MARKS~~. Still another SNCC leader, CLEVELAND ~~WILLIAMS~~, was at Tokyo to attend a Communist-called convention there. He was as outspoken as CARMICHAEL in calling for a Negro rebellion against the United States."

REMARKS OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL

A rally in support of 17 NAACP members arrested by the New York City Police Department was held on August 6, 1967 at St. Albans Plaza, 190-01 Linden Boulevard, Queens, New York. Approximately 1,500 Negroes attended this rally and listened to a speech of H. RAY BROWN of SNCC. H. RAY BROWN allegedly stated at this rally that Negroes should arm themselves against the white conspiracy of genocide and when the white start, the Negroes should go to the jails and free all the Negro prisoners."

August 7, 1967

H. RAY BROWN on August 13, 1967, conducted a press conference at 177 West 114th Street, New York City. The purpose of this press conference was to make two announcements.

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The first was that August 13th should be known as black man's independence day because on this day in 1965 the riot in Watts started. The second announcement was that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had left Cuba and was at that time at Hanoi, North Vietnam. H. RAP BROWN was asked if he supported STOKELY CARMICHAEL's alleged statement from Cuba that Negroes should arm themselves for total revolution. H. RAP BROWN allegedly replied "our sentiments exactly". He went on to say that if the black man endorses guerrilla fighting he would be the first to join up and fight.


August 31, 1967

E. Disruptive and Violent Tactics

A picket demonstration was conducted by SNCC commencing at 3:15 p.m. on February 3, 1965, at City Hall, New York City. The purpose of the demonstration was to induce the Mayor of the City of New York to intercede with the President of the United States for federal intervention in the voters registration drive in Selma, Alabama. By 1:40 a.m. February 4, 1965, all demonstrators had left the area.

On February 4, 1965, at 3:15 p.m. SNCC again assembled at the United States Courthouse located at Foley Square, New York City. Twenty-nine demonstrators representing SNCC and carrying signs reading "Federal Registrars in Selma" attempted to enter and stage a sit-in within the lobby of the United States Courthouse; but were restrained by United States Marshals. Several representatives of SNCC were granted an interview with VINCENT I. BRODERICK, Chief Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York. After the interview with Mr. BRODERICK, the individuals were asked to leave the office. Upon their refusal they were escorted by United States Marshals from the office outside the United States Courthouse.

[REDACTED]
February 4, 1967

On February 3, 1965, SNCC again conducted a picket demonstration at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, commencing at 3:45 p.m. They carried signs demanding Federal intervention in the voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. At approximately 4:30 p.m. several of the pickets began making sorties up the steps of the United States Courthouse in an effort to gain admittance. They were restrained by United States Marshals who had taken position at the head of the steps. The demonstration terminated at 5:30 p.m.

Personal observation by
SAs of the FBI
February 5, 1965

At approximately 3:00 a.m., June 23, 1965, a group of approximately 15 pickets, representing SNCC and members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chained themselves to the main entrance of the United States Courthouse blocking the entrance. Approximately 40 demonstrators marched in front of the building carrying signs bearing large letters which spelled the word Mississippi. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the arrest of civil rights demonstrators in Mississippi. United States Marshals removed the chained demonstrators and took them into custody on order of Federal Judge CHRISTOPHER RYAN.

[REDACTED]
June 23, 1965,
United States Courthouse,
Foley Square, New York City

"The New York World Telegram & Sun", a former New York City daily newspaper, on page one of this issue of March 22, 1966, contained an article entitled, "BLAFOUNTIS Cuts Out Five Rights Leaders". The article related that HAROLD BLAFOUNTIS, singer, and CHARLES BLATTEN, actor, appeared in the state court on March 21,

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1966, and provided bail money for five SNCC officers who had been arrested and charged with disorderly conduct for staging a sit-in at the South African Consulate, 665 Madison Avenue, New York City. The five SNCC officers were identified as follows in the newspaper article:

"JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary
"JOHN LEWIS, National Chairman
"WILLIAM HALL, New York Director of SNCC
"CLEVELAND SELLERS, Program Director
"WILLIAM RICKS, SNCC Staff Member"

(It should be noted that JAMES FORMAN is currently serving as Director of New York SNCC.)


An article in the "New York Herald Tribune", a former New York daily newspaper, March 22, 1966, page three, set forth the purpose of the above sit-in demonstration as a protest against the "inhuman and barbarous system of apartheid practised by the South African government."

On December 19, 1966, commencing at 10:00 a.m., the Board of Education, City of New York, conducted school budget hearings at their headquarters, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York. At 3:30 p.m. the hearings were interrupted by members of a so-called "Ad Hoc Board of Education" which demanded a voice in the hearings. The official hearing was terminated at this point and the Ad Hoc groups staged a sit-in demonstration in the budget hearing room. They conducted their own "Board of Education" hearing. The sit-in was still in progress at 10:00 a.m., December 21, 1966. Among those participating in the insurgent group was WILLIAM HALL of SNCC who was named "Superintendent of Schools" by the Ad Hoc Board of Education.

December 20, 1966 also
"New York Times"
December 21, 1966
Page 1, 32, article entitled,
"Brooklyn Sit-in Bars Second
Hearing By School Board"


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A picket demonstration was conducted at Intermediate School 201 in Harlem, New York City, at 7:00 a.m. on September 21, 1966. SNCC members participated in this demonstration, the purpose of which was to protest the action of the Board of Education in reinstating STANLEY LESSER, white male, as Principal of Intermediate School 201 located at 127th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City. When the school doors opened at about 3:15 a.m. on September 21, 1966, five pickets attempted to rush past school Principal LESSER and block his entrance to the school. They were arrested by the New York City Police Department on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Included among those arrested was WILLIAM HALL, male Negro, 100, Fifth Avenue, New York City.



It is to be noted that 100 Fifth Avenue is the address of SNCC New York Office.

On September 12, 1967, WILLIAM HALL of SNCC with approximately 20 supporters attempted to push their way at 9:10 a.m. through the police guard toward ten white teachers who were conducting peaceful picketing at Intermediate School 201, Harlem, New York City. WILLIAM HALL pushed past the police guard and was arrested for obstruction, harassment, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. H. RAP BROWN of SNCC appeared at the above demonstration at 9:40 a.m. He talked to spectators and reporters but did not participate in the demonstration.



September 2, 1967

A court hearing concerning reduction of bail for H. RAP BROWN was held at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, on August 22, 1967 at 10:00 a.m. JAMES FORMAN and other SNCC representatives were present in the court-

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room. An outburst came from the spectators when JAMES FORMAN insisted that the United States Marshals readmit ROBERT SMITH, a SNCC representative, into the courtroom. FORMAN stated that he had reserved SMITH's seat in the courtroom. As FORMAN continued to be boisterous, the Judge ordered him to be removed from the courtroom. A pushing and shoving incident followed and FORMAN was removed to a detention cell. However, JAMES FORMAN was subsequently readmitted to the courtroom upon the insistence of H. RAP BROWN's attorney.


August 31, 1967

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IV. SNCC OPPOSITION TO UNITED STATES
POLICY IN VIETNAM AND DRAFT RESISTANCE

SNCC participated in a picketing demonstration and rally in the vicinity of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 49th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, on February 23, 1966, from 6:30 P.M. to 9 P.M. ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND* of SNCC was one of the speakers at this rally. The purpose of this demonstration was to protest United States Government policy in Vietnam.


February 23, 1966

On July 12, 1966, SAS of the FBI observed a demonstration held in front of the United States Army Recruiting Station near the Apollo Theater on 125th Street, New York City. The demonstrators, 16 in number, marched from 12 noon until 2 P.M. carrying signs which read: "Why should black men kill brown men in Vietnam" and "Black men should return home to protect black women."

A flyer was handed out by the demonstrators. The following is quoted from the flyer: "Black men! Whitey's plan for you is death in Vietnam. Choose jail, stay here and fight for your manhood. Black women will not allow you to stand alone in your decision." At the bottom of the flyer appeared the following notation: "Advice and help may be obtained from the following organizations - SNCC and CORE."

The "New York Post", August 25, 1966, page five, - contained an article entitled "SNCC, CORE blast draft 'salvage' plan." The article related that Defense Secretary MC NAMARA's proposal for "salvaging" draft rejectees was under fire from civil rights leaders. The article further related

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that STOKELY CARMICHAEL*, at a youth forum held in the First Corinthian Baptist Church, 116th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, on August 24, 1966, allegedly stated "This man is out to exterminate us. It is clear that the man is moving to get rid of black people in the ghettos and we in SNCC are going to urge black people not to submit to the draft."

On September 18, 1966, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC)* held a panel discussion on Selective Service and the draft. The discussions were held at the New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street, New York City. A representative from SNCC was included among the panelists; however, he was not identified by name by the source reporting this information. The following question was put to the SNCC spokesman: "Are there any examples of mass refusal to be inducted?" The SNCC panelist answered that the move of SNCC is not to have mass action parades, jailings, etc. They are consolidating the Negro community for strength - "so that when the Government wants one man, the Government has to come into an organized community that is powerful. It will take force to get the one man."

September 19, 1966

On March 29, 1967, [REDACTED] made available a pamphlet which announced a "massive, anti-draft campaign". The pamphlet further related that on April 1, 1967, an "End the Draft Caravan" will visit every high school in the New York Metropolitan area and 200,000 young people will learn more about conscientious objection, more about Vietnam, and more about resisting war. This pamphlet indicated the "draft caravans" are sponsored by several organizations including SNCC.

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The "New York Times", May 13, 1967, page one, in an article entitled "Carmichael out as SNCC Chief", set forth a statement issued on May 12, 1967, by SNCC National Office which described SNCC as "a human rights organization, interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world." SNCC encouraged the "liberation struggles" of peoples against racism, exploitation and oppression. "We shall seek a strong nationwide black anti-draft program and a movement to include high school students, along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country, to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing....."

Their economic objectives, the statement said, would be "to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, to gain economic control of our communities and to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals."

An estimated 100 Negroes marched through Harlem on Saturday, April 15, 1967, in support of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. The march commenced at Lenox Avenue and 135th Street, New York City. Some of the Negroes carried signs reading "We won't go" and "Black men stay home". STOKELY CARMICHAEL* of SNCC was in the line of march along with BILL DUTTON* of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)*.

[REDACTED]
April 15, 1967

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The above march on April 17, 1967, terminated at the United Nations Plaza where a massive rally was held. Many groups joined forces at the Plaza where the crowd numbered approximately 100,000 people. One of the featured speakers at the rally was SPOKELY CARNEY of SNCC.

[REDACTED]
April 20, 1967

On Memorial Day, May 30, 1967, a march was staged by the Black United Action Front commencing at noon in Harlem, New York. The purpose of the march was to protest the War in Vietnam and the drafting of Negroes into the Armed Forces. Among the groups participating was SNCC. The flag of the Vietnam National Liberation Front was displayed in the line of march.

[REDACTED]
June 9, 1967

A demonstration sponsored by the Veterans and Reservists for Peace was held on June 3, 1967, on the occasion of the visit of President JOHNSON to New York City. The demonstration was held three blocks away from the Americana hotel during the President's visit to the Hotel. SNCC was among the sponsoring organizations. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest United States involvement in Vietnam.

[REDACTED]
June 7, 1967

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On July 13, 1967, a "Teach-in on Puerto Rico" was held at Horace Mann Auditorium, Columbia University, New York City. Approximately 300 persons were in attendance at this teach-in. Literature was distributed outside the auditorium by SNCC, among other organizations. The literature distributed covered Puerto Rico, Vietnam Peace Movements, anti-draft activities and Israel-Arab problems. H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC, was a speaker at the teach-in. He discussed SNCC's relation to Latin American Revolutionary movements, particularly Puerto Rico and Cuba. BROWN likened American Negroes to "enslaved Latin America", both being victims of colonialism and United States imperialism. BROWN remarked that "if America plays Nazi, Negroes will not play Jew", but favored violence when necessary. He stated Puerto Ricans should not be drafted to fight for the United States, but should fight "LBJ, RUSK, MC NAMARA".

[REDACTED]
July, 1967

A meeting entitled "Vietnam and Black America" was held on August 29, 1967, at the Village Theater located at 105 Second Avenue, New York City. This rally was sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and other organizations. Approximately 2,600 people attended. The speakers included JULIUS LESTER and H. RAP BROWN of SNCC, both of whom protested United States involvement in the Vietnam War.

[REDACTED]
September 11, 1967

On October 3, 1967, a meeting of various committees working on the massive October 21, 1967, Washington, D.C. protest demonstration against United States involvement in

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Vietnam, met at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. A representative of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presided over this meeting and remarked that his contact with militant Negro groups was JOHN WILSON of SNCC.

October 5, 1967

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 12076.

A half page advertisement appeared in the National Guardian, October 7, 1967, entitled "Confront the War Makers at the Pentagon". The following is quoted from the advertisement: "Welcome JOHN WILSON of SNCC to the National Mobilization Committee as Co-chairman and co-project director by sending funds for transportation to Washington, D.C. October 21 for thousands of black people and Puerto Ricans, north and south, who cannot afford the fare. Make checks payable to National Mobilization Committee and mail to JOHN WILSON, Co-chairman, National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 357 Broadway, Room 318, New York City."

V. SNCC CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS

On March 14, 1962, a picketing demonstration was conducted at the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City, from 3:35 P.M. until 5:25 P.M. Approximately 125 people participated. CORE, SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)* participated in the demonstration. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest against the arrest of CORE and SNCC representatives in Baton Rouge,

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Louisiana, in the spring of 1962.

[REDACTED]
New York City
(March, 1962)
[REDACTED]

March 14, 1962

A picketing demonstration at the United States Mission to the United Nations, 45th Street and First Avenue, New York City, was held on March 18, 1963, between 5:15 P.M. and 6:15 P.M. 20 members of SNCC conducted this demonstration and carried signs protesting "lack of protection of SNCC workers in voter registration campaigns". This demonstration was observed by SAS of the FBI.

On September 22, 1963, a picketing demonstration and rally under the banner "National Day of Mourning for the children of Birmingham" was conducted at the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City. The demonstration was sponsored by SNCC, CORE and the NAACP. Speakers called for more action by the Federal Government in the civil rights field and more protection for the Negro people.

[REDACTED]
September 24, 1963

SNCC participated in a demonstration at the New York Office of the FBI, East 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City, from 4:30 P.M. to 7 P.M., March 9, 1965. This demonstration was spearheaded by CORE, New York, and had the support of other civil rights organizations in the New York area. The demonstrators protested the handling of

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civil rights workers by police in Selma, Alabama, and urged the Government to designate Federal Registrars for voter registration in the south.

[REDACTED]
March 17, 1965

From 4:30 P.M. until 7:10 P.M. on June 21, 1965, a peak number of 90 individuals under the sponsorship of SNCC and CORE picketed outside the New York Office of the FBI, 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City. The pickets were addressed by speakers who demanded a "Federal injunction" calling for the release of civil rights workers then in jail in Jackson, Mississippi. The speakers also demanded that the United States Government provide Federal protection for civil rights workers in the south. Included among the speakers was MATT JONES, described as a SNCC member from the south.

Personal observation
by SAS of the FBI,
June 21, 1965

At 4 P.M. on July 27, 1967, 28 persons formed a picket-line before the United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City. The group passed out handbills signed "Black Mask" which demanded the immediate release of H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC. H. RAP BROWN was released on July 27, 1967, from jail in Alexandria, Virginia, on \$10,000 bond on charges that he incited a riot at Cambridge, Maryland. According to this source, persons affiliated with the PLP*, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence*, and SNCC were represented on the picket-line.

[REDACTED]
July 28, 1967

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VI. SNCC SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY
FOR COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Communist Party (CP)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
May 21, 1962

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
July 5, 1962

On March 17, 1967, a forum under the name of Chelsea Forum was held at 311 West 24th Street, New York City, in the apartment of EUGENE GORDON, Sr. Approximately 30 individuals attended this forum which was actually conducted by members of the Chelsea CP Club, West Side Section, New York County. Also in attendance was WILLIAM KALL, described as leader of Harlem S.I.C. The speaker at this forum was HERBERT ATTENBERG who spoke on the "United States in the World Today".

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED]
March 17, 1967

10

100

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



[REDACTED]

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"The Worker" is an East
coast Communist newspaper.

B. DCA Clubs of America*

The third national convention of the DCA was held on September 8, to 10, 1967, at Columbia University, New York City. The convention was attended by 265 registered delegates and observers. One of the speakers at the convention was JULIUS LESTER described as Director of Photography, International Department, SNCC.

[REDACTED]
September 19, 1967

"The Kingsman", September 29, 1967, a student newspaper at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York, set forth an article on page four entitled "Summer Riots in America-Subject of Du Bois Talks". This article related that the DCA club at Brooklyn College held a meeting on September 27, 1967, which was attended by representatives of various organizations including SDS and CP. TERRY ARDREY also spoke at this meeting as a representative of SNCC.

C. Harlem Council for Peace*

SNCC was one of six organizations which allegedly participated in the formation of the Harlem Council for Peace as of January, 1966.

[REDACTED]
January 21, 1966

D. SWP

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

August 31, 1967

The SWP sponsored a Women's Peace March to the Armory on 33rd Street, Manhattan, New York. About 300 people participated in the demonstration including members of SNCC.

[REDACTED]

June 24, 1966

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

October 24, 1966

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

January 25, 1965

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VII. MISCELLANEOUS

On August 19, 1967, a social sponsored by the Movimiento Pro Independencia De Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR)* was held at the Casa Puerto Rico, 106 East 14th Street, New York City. During the meeting members of the MPIPR were observed talking with people attempting to get donations to be sent to SNCC to help pay the bond for E. RAP TROWN.

[REDACTED]
August 21, 1967

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
August 30, 1967

SNCC was represented at the National Convention of the SDS*, which was held in the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25 to 30, 1967. At the convention, it was decided that SDS* would support SNCC and its activity. In the final session of the convention, a representative of SNCC gave a talk and asked for contributions to his organization. A contribution of \$150 was presented to SNCC.

[REDACTED]
July, 1967

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

HERBERT APFENBERG ✓

HERBERT APFENBERG was elected to the National Committee CP, United States of America (USA), at the 10th National Convention of the CP, USA, held June 22 to 26, 1966, in New York City.

[REDACTED]
June 30, 1966

LOUISE R. BRANSTEN ✓

While appearing before a public session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, California, June 21, 1957, DOROTHY JEFFERS, a member of the Professional Section of the CP of San Francisco from 1943 to 1951, stated in her sworn testimony that LOUISE BRANSTEN (also known as LOUISE R. BERNAN) was a member of the Professional Section of the CP, San Francisco. Miss JEFFERS also testified that she had attended a meeting of the CP in the home of LOUISE BRANSTEN.

[REDACTED]
April 17, 1967

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
November 3, 1964

ALVA BUXENBAUM

As of December 21, 1966, ALVA BUXENBAUM was a member of the New York District CP Committee representing Kings County.

[REDACTED]
December 21, 1966

ROBERT SAMUEL TANT

[REDACTED]

ROSE M. COB

As of May, 1967, ROSE M. COB was a member of the NY, USA Farm Commission.

[REDACTED]
May 21, 1967

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APPENDIX 7 (INDIVIDUALS)

WILLIAM EPTON

WILLIAM EPTON as of October 16, 1967, was Vice-President of the FLP*.

[REDACTED]
October 16, 1967

CORLISS LAMONT

On September 28, 1953, LOUIS F. BUDENZ testified before the United States Senate Permanent Investigations Sub Committee that EARL BROWDER, as head of the CP in the United States, had referred to CORLISS LAMONT as one of the "four prides" of the CP because CORLISS LAMONT was ready to cooperate with any Communist front or any Communist cause. BROWDER made this reference at a National Committee meeting of the CP in the early 1940s. BUDENZ also recalled that CORLISS LAMONT was a member of the CP while he, BUDENZ, was a member.

JULIA BROWDER

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service reported on April 10, 1967, a broadcast from Hanoi, North Vietnam, on

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

April 8, 1967, which read as follows: "The 4th Investigative Delegation of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal has arrived in Hanoi to continue the work of the first three delegations in investigating the United States War crimes in Vietnam. The delegation included, among others, American Negro, JULIUS LESTER, writer, cameraman and compositor in charge of SNCC Photograph Service."

MALCOLM X

For a characterization of MALCOLM X see characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) attached.

WILLIAM MC ADOO

WILLIAM MC ADOO was, as of May, 1966, the head of the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life*.

[REDACTED]
May 10, 1966

ALEX E. O. MUNSELL

[REDACTED] advised that
ALEX MUNSELL was present at a fund raising party of Village Clubs 1 and 2, CP, New York County, which was held on June 22, 1962, at 53 Barrow Street, New York City.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

VICTOR RABINOWITZ

The December, 1966 issue of "Rights" published by the ECLC* on page 34 identifies VICTOR RABINOWITZ as a member of the Executive Committee of the ECLC.

[REDACTED]
April 3, 1967

VICTOR RABINOWITZ attended the 18th Anniversary Dinner of the National Guardian* held in New York City on November 4, 1966, and during the evening it was announced that he had donated \$1,000 to the National Guardian.

[REDACTED]
November 10, 1966

ANNA ROCHESTER

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED], advised on May 13, 1968, that as of September, 1962, ANNA ROCHESTER was still a member of the CP in Greenwich Village, New York City.

ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND

The November 11, 1963 issue of "The Militant" page five, column three, reflects that ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, a book editor, was treasurer of the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba* at that time.

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APPENDIX I (INDIVIDUALS)

ABRAHAM WEISBURD

Volume 1, July-August, 1966, of "Labor News and Views", a news letter of the Trade Unionists for Peace* of New York City on page two lists ABE WEISBURD as one of five individuals who are members of the board of editors of this publication.

JOHN WILSON

On February 21, 1967, [REDACTED] furnished a flyer printed by the Militant Labor Forum (MLF)* which indicated that the MLF* would sponsor a MALCOLM X* Memorial meeting on February 24, 1967. One of the speakers listed on the flyer was JOHN WILSON, described as SNCC Field Secretary.

The MLF held the above Memorial meeting at 873 Broadway, New York City, on February 24, 1967. JOHN WILSON of SNCC was the second speaker and stated that MALCOLM X had made an immeasurable contribution to civil rights.

[REDACTED]
March 1, 1967

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APPENDIX II (ORGANIZATIONS)

APPENDIX

1.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND RESISTANCE
TO GHETTO LIFE (CERGE)

A source advised on February 3, 1965, that CERGE was formed on November 1, 1964, as a front of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), presently known as Progressive Labor Party (PLP). All personnel which comprise the committee are PLM members. CERGE was organized to raise funds for the PLM in order that the PLM will have money for bail when it becomes necessary. The people connected with CERGE hope to build it into a national organization.

A second source advised on March 5, 1965, that it is the plan of the PLM to recruit people into CERGE and use CERGE as a recruiting front for PLM members. The PLM plans to give instructions in Marxist philosophy and those who respond will be advanced from CERGE to PLM membership.

A third source advised on December 28, 1966, that CERGE previously maintained an office at Room 617, 1 Union Square, New York, New York, but that it no longer occupies this office and is considered defunct.

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

- "1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings.' One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the Party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.

* * *

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 127, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX

1.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER
RELIEF TO CUBA (ECDRC)

A source advised that on October 17, 1963, about 20 individuals representing various pro-Cuban organizations in the New York City area, met in New York, New York, for the purpose of forming a committee to raise funds to assist victims of hurricane "Flora" in Cuba.

Literature distributed by the ECDRC at a later date reflected that the Chairman of the Committee is SIDNEY J. GLUCK and the Medical Director, Dr. LOUIS A. MILLER. Its headquarters are at 41 Union Square West, Room 311, New York 3, New York, and its literature proclaims that the ECDRC is a non-profit organization found to help Cuban victims of hurricane "Flora" by collecting funds for the purchase of food, medicine and relief supplies.

A second source advised that SIDNEY J. GLUCK, whose real name is ISADORE GLICK, maintained a 1943 Communist Party (CP) membership book in his possession in 1944.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, stated in 1950 that as late as 1945 he was advised by JACK STACHEL, CP leader, that Dr. LOUIS A. MILLER was an active member of the CP.

A third source advised that on February 10, 1965, a meeting sponsored by the Committee for Special Medical Aid to Cuba (SMAC), formerly the ECDRC, was held in a New York

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX

2.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR DISASTER
RELIEF TO CUBA (ECDRC) CONTINUED

hotel. SIDNEY GLUCK advised those in attendance that the emergency from hurricane "Flora" in Cuba was over. He stated that the ECDRC was disbanded and a legal name change was completed January 21, 1965.

1.

APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION
OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

"The Jewish Nationalist" dated October, 1947, self-identified as the official publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO), Page 6, contained an article which reflected that the Emma Lazarus Division (ELD) of the JPFO was to hold its first national convention in New York City on November 15 and 16, 1947, after having been first established at a National Women's Conference called three years previously by the JPFO.

"The Morning Freiheit" (MF) on January 25, 1951, contained a report of the National Convention of the ELD of the JPFO which took place in New York City on January 20 and 21, 1951. At this convention, it was noted that the ELD changed its name to Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) and adopted a new constitution.

On May 4, 1966, a source advised that the ELF was recognized by the Communist Party (CP) United States of America (USA) as an important national organization of women whose leadership was primarily made up of Communists. The source stated the ELF was dedicated to peace, in protecting the rights of foreign born, and against bomb testing, Negro discrimination and the rearmament of West Germany.

The source also stated the ELF renders support to and receives support from the CP and other Jewish progressive organizations.

The ELF National Office was moved and is now located at 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 632, New York, New York.

The IWO and JPFO have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

NY 100-147963

2.

APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION
OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS (CONTINUED)

- "1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily'.
(Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE
Congressional Record, September 24, 1942,
p. 7686.)
- "2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest
organs of Communist propaganda in this
country for almost a quarter of a century.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House Report 1311 on the CIO Political
Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"

APPENDIX

1.

HARLEM COUNCIL FOR PEACE
Also known as Central
Harlem Committee on Vietnam

A source on January 10, 1966, advised that the idea for the meeting and formation of the Central Harlem Committee on Vietnam, which met on January 9, 1966, in New York City, was conceived at a Communist Party meeting held on December 18, 1965, between representatives of the Communist Party, United States of America, New York District and Harlem Region, Communist Party. On January 21, 1966, the same source advised the Committee had now adopted the name of the Harlem Council For Peace (HCFP).

A second source on February 10, 1966, furnished a circular issued by HCFP, self-characterizing itself as an ad hoc committee formed by a group of concerned people representing several organizations.

The first source, on January 17, 1966, advised that the purpose of the group is to foster sentiment against the Vietnam War.

A third source, on February 1, 1966, furnished a draft of proposed literature for the HCFP. This draft listed the following aims and purposes of the organization:

1. The War Against Poverty in Harlem.
2. The liberation of non-white people here in the United States.
3. The right of free expression as guaranteed by the constitution of the United States.

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX

2.

HARLEM COUNCIL FOR
PEACE CONTINUED

The first source on May 10, 1966, advised that the HCFP was located at 357 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

A fourth source advised on October 10, 1966, that as of that date the HCFP was defunct.

APPENDIX

1.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M) formerly known as the May 2 Committee was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

The characterization of the PLP has been set out separately.

NY 100-147963

APPENDIX

1.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 17, 1967, that public forums are regularly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) - New York Local (NYL) on Friday evenings, and are held at SWP headquarters 873 Broadway, New York, New York. These are called Militant Labor Forums.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA
DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1959, at Ponce, Puerto Rico, to work for the independence of Puerto Rico. It has an estimated membership of between 1,000 and 1,300 people with missions throughout the island of Puerto Rico, and in New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York.

At the time the MPIPR was organized it was indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leaders of this organization, in a speech during March, 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States. A source reported in 1966 that a leader of the MPIPR indicated that "the Revolution would soon begin" and another source advised that another official of this organization had attempted to obtain a number of automatic pistols.

Articles praising FIDEL CASTRO and the Cuban Government regularly appear in MPIPR publications. In 1961, the MPIPR adopted a resolution expressing 100 per cent approval of and solidarity with the Cuban revolution. It sent a delegation to the Tri-Continental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American People, held in Havana, Cuba, during January, 1966, and it maintains a permanent delegate to the Secretariat located in Havana.

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous demonstrations protesting compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

In December, 1966, the Governor of Puerto Rico signed into law a bill calling for a plebiscite on July 23, 1967, to determine the future political status of Puerto Rico. The press reported that this plebiscite has been denounced vociferously by the MPIPR as "an act of Yankee imperialism to maintain the colonial status of Puerto Rico". JUAN MARI BRAS stated that the MPIPR had asked the Cuban Government for "militant solidarity with our struggle, in all international forums to which Red Cuba has access".

APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

APPENDIX

2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

This same confidential source advised on September 8, 1965, that the activities of the MMI following the death of MALCOLM X were limited to the teaching of classes in the Islamic religion and a class in judo for self-protection. These classes were held regularly until the latter part of July, 1965, when they were discontinued. Since then, the MMI has held no meetings and there has been absolutely no activity by the MMI which appears to be completely "dead".

APPENDIX

1

NATION OF ISLAM, FORMERLY REFERRED
TO AS THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, ALSO
KNOWN AS MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1967, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD he described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX

2

NATION OF ISLAM (CONTINUED)

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

1.

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"National Guardian

- "1. 'Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

APPENDIX

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights", while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

2.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On February 28, 1966, a second confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Harlem, New York.

On May 8, 1967, the first confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of ELLA COLLINS.

Characterizations of MMI and NOI are set out separately.

APPENDIX

1.

PRENSA LATINA

Prensa Latina (PL) is a Cuban news agency organized June 16, 1959, with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, and branches throughout the world. Its New York office is located in Room 367, United Nations Secretariat Building, New York City. It follows an editorial policy which is anti-United States and pro-Soviet Union.

On April 16, 1962, PL filed a statement with the United States Department of Justice conceding that the agency receives the sum of \$125,000 (Cuban) monthly from Radio Difusora Nacional, an agency of or under the supervision of a ministry of the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On April 18, 1962, PL entered a plea of nolo contendere in Federal District Court, Washington, D.C., to a charge of failure to comply with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and was fined \$2,000.

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

1.

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (PYOC)

On February 9, 1961, a source advised that the PYOC was established at a national socialist-oriented youth conference held in Chicago, Illinois, December 30, 1960, through January 1, 1961. This conference was the result of a mandate issued by the National Executive Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) calling for a youth conference to establish an organizing committee whose objective would be to set up a national socialist-oriented youth organization. The conference scheduled a convention to be held within a year to found a new national socialist-oriented youth organization.

On June 14, 1962, AARON COHEN, a member of the CP from 1947 to 1957 and from December, 1961, to October, 1963, advised it was reported at the meeting of the National Council of the PYOC held New York, New York, June 16 and 17, 1962, that although it had been planned to form a Marxist-oriented youth organization by the Fall of 1962, it would not be possible to form such an organization for the next few years.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that the PYOC no longer maintains its headquarters at 169 Allen Street, New York, New York, and from what can be determined the PYOC is no longer in existence.

APPENDIX

1.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnaping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled, "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World", that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

APPENDIX

2.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it will most likely be where STANFORD resides.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

1.

"THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE (NEW YORK)
Also Known As Labor For Peace

A source advised on August 16, 1965, that a meeting of 16 people was held on August 12, 1965, in Room 18K, Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York, New York. The chairman of the meeting stated the meeting was called to form an organization to be tentatively called "Labor For Peace" for the purpose of mobilizing the labor class for the cause of peace, particularly in Vietnam. The chairman stated that, "We as Party people are organizing this group, but we want it to broaden and expand to include workers who are not associated with the Party". He stated it was necessary to mobilize the rank and file union membership to the cause of peace to such an extent that the union membership will support "our organization".

A second source advised on August 20, 1965, that the name of the new group called "Labor For Peace" had been changed to Trade Unionists For Peace (TUFF). This same source stated on September 17, 1965, that at a meeting of the TUFF which was held on September 16, 1965, at the Hotel Woodstock, 137 West 43rd Street, New York City, it was stated that the aims and purposes of the organization was to organize trade unionists who are interested in peace and against United States intervention in Vietnam.

A third source advised on September 23, 1965, that at a meeting of Club 19 of the Communist Party (CP), United States of America (USA), which was held on September 22, 1965, in Brooklyn, New York, it was stated that since none of the organizations for peace in Vietnam have won the support of the workers, the CP had set up an organization in the trade union movement called the TUFF.

A fourth source advised on December 14, 1965, that at a meeting of the CP, USA, New York District Trade Union Commission, which was held on December 12, 1965, in New York City, it was stated that the CP had set up a caucus of Party members in TUFF which formulates the kind of policy to be carried out by this organization. It was also stated that it was up to the Party to involve workers in this organization and attempt

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, GUS HALL, CPUSA, General Secretary, indicated that the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, near the conclusion of the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth confidential source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 47th Street, New York, New York.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title Student Non-Violent
Coordinating Committee

Character Internal Security - Student
Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Reference is made to the report of Special
Agent [REDACTED] dated and captioned as above at
New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

[REDACTED] was in a position to furnish reliable
information

APPENDIX

2.

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE
(NEW YORK) (CONTINUED)

to tie up the ideas of peace with economics.

A third source advised on April 17, 1967, that the TUFF is currently located in Room 408, at 857 Broadway, New York, New York.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/19/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 6/19/69 - 10/10/69
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY kbm
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM	

REFERENCES

Report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 6/18/69, at New York.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

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Request Recd.	Request:	ACSI, SEC SER, OSI
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW:	10/27/69
How Fwd.	HOW FORW:	BY: [REDACTED]
By	BY:	pen/klk

Notations

cc-866

-A-

COVER PAGE

58 NOV 25 1969

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

SAS who interviewed [REDACTED] 8/13/69, were
and [REDACTED]

Current status of SNCC leaders and activists in
New York Division:

-B-
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NY 100-147963

ADMINISTRATIVE CONT'D

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY 100-147963-3619, 3549

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY 100-147963-3561

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize
ALEX MUNSELL

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY 100-147963-3539

NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS CONT'D

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY 100-147963-3593

NY 100-147963-3548 to 3580

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Atlanta was until recently office of origin in this case.

-D*-
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of:

Date:

10/16/69

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #:

100-147963

Bureau File #:

100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

SNCC National Office is presently located at 300 Ninth Avenue, NYC, in the annex of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Episcopal). A statement issued by SNCC at a press conference held 7/22/69, in NYC, reflects that H. RAP BROWN was renamed Chairman of SNCC. IRVING DAVIS was named Director of International Affairs for SNCC and JAMES ALEXANDER JOHNSON of the Fort Hood Three was made Director of National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU), SNCC's anti-draft program. SNCC is now governed by a Revolutionary Political Council. SNCC officers and staff members listed and results of national staff meeting 6/16, 17/69, set forth. SNCC described as bankrupt. [REDACTED] Power play currently taking place in SNCC between JAMES FORMAN and IRVING DAVIS. Current SNCC directed programs are the NBAWADU and the International Affairs Commission [REDACTED] as well as SNCC's support of National Black Economic Development Conference and recent appearances by SNCC leaders on campus.

-P*-

DETAILS:


SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
 downgrading and
 declassification

NY 100-147963

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I. ORGANIZATION

A. Location of National Office

The National Office of Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is presently located at 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City, Second Floor, in the annex of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Episcopal).


September 26, 1969

B. Restructuring of SNCC

A statement issued by SNCC at a press conference conducted on July 22, 1969, at its National Headquarters, 300 Ninth Avenue, New York City, announced a new structuring of the SNCC organization as follows:

"There has also been a change-over in the administration of SNCC. The new structure consists of:

"(A) The creation of a Revolutionary Political Council which replaces the old SNCC Central Committee as governing body,

"(B) A Propoganda Network, under the direction of Phil Hutchings, former head of SNCC.

"(C) The building of an all-Black Political Party. And the R.W.C., which has various functions under the new structure.

"Other noted changes are the selection of Irving Davis as the Director of SNCC's International Affairs Commission. He replaces James Forman in that position, who because of extensive duties with the 'Black Manifesto', can no longer serve in that capacity. Forman still remains a SNCC staff member, however.

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"Jimmy Johnson, formerly of the 'Ft. Hood 3', was named to head up NBAWADU, SNCC's draft program. Johnson is presently in Vietnam, representing our organization for the release of American POWs, an arrangement made recently by Dave Dellinger of National Mobilization".

[REDACTED]
July 31, 1969

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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C. Officers and Staff Members

National SNCC leader JAMES FORMAN contacted the Cincinnati, Ohio Office of SNCC, June 4, 1969, and advised them of the forthcoming national staff meeting of SNCC scheduled for June 16, 17, 1969, at New York City.

The national staff meeting commenced at 11:00 am, June 16, 1969, and was conducted in the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City, with the following individuals present listed according to their origin:

New York

WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, also known as
"Che"
FRED MEELY
IRVING DAVIS
H. RAP BROWN
WILLIAM MUHAMMAD HUNT
JAMES FORMAN
JAMES LYTTLE
FRANCES BEAL
JOSEPH MILLER
DIANE JENKINS
JUDY SULLIVAN

Newark

PHIL HUTCHINGS

Dallas, Texas

MARION ERNEST McMILLAN (SNCC Midwest
Deputy Director, Dallas, Texas)
MICKEY McGUIRE
MAT JONES
MIKE DODD
ED HARRIS
MAT JOHNSON

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Tuskegee, Alabama

NORMAN "DUKE" BARNETT

Baltimore

BOB MOORE
RUDY LEWIS

New Orleans

LYNN FRENCH
LEONARD GRANT
JIMMIE LAZARE
LIONEL McINTYRE

Los Angeles

Brother COOK
SANDRA SCOTT
TONY SCOTT

Detroit, Michigan

DAN ALDRIDGE

St. Louis

SAM PETTY

Cincinnati

McKINLEY PACE
GEORGE HUGHES
TAYLOR HUGHES

[REDACTED]
June 24, 1969

[REDACTED]
June 23, 1969

[REDACTED]
June 18, 1969

FRED MEELY as of May, 1969, continued to function as
a member of the national staff of SNCC [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
May 19, 1969

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FRANCES BEAL of Queens, New York, was on the national staff of SNCC as of June, 1969, but was reported as taking no active part therein.

[REDACTED]
June 3, 1969

[REDACTED]

PHIL HUTCHINGS was in New Orleans from June 3, 1969 to June 5, 1969.

[REDACTED]
June 9, 1969

[REDACTED] was interviewed by Special Agents (SAs) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), on August 13, 1969, in the vicinity of 26th Street and Ninth Avenue, New York City. [REDACTED] stated that at a recent national staff meeting of SNCC held in New York City, H. RAP BROWN had again assumed leadership of the organization. [REDACTED] related that SNCC was not functioning with the impetus it has had in the past, and this was due to a severe lack of finances and deteriorating interest.

D. Funds

The financial backing for the June 16, 17, 1969 national staff meeting of SNCC was donated to SNCC by officials of the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
June 25, 1969

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At the national staff meeting of SNCC held in June, 1969, in New York City, a financial report was given by SNCC leaders IRVING DAVIS and JAMES LYTLE. The substance of the report was that National SNCC was bankrupt and it was estimated that its total debt amounted to approximately \$13,000.00.

[REDACTED]
June 23, 1969

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY 100-147963

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on September 19, 1969, that National SNCC and the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) have serious financial problems which are being compounded by increasing leadership conflicts between the two groups.

At an anti-war rally held in Central Park, New York City, on August 9, 1969, FRANCES BEAL and JUDY SULLIVAN, affiliated with SNCC, took up a collection and raised \$50.00 for SNCC to be used for the Rap Brown Defense Fund. JUDY SULLIVAN was described as an employee of the New York Urban League operating in their Street Academy in the Bedford - Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn.

[REDACTED]

August 11, 1969

E. Factionalism within SNCC

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

June 12, 1969

NY 100-147963

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

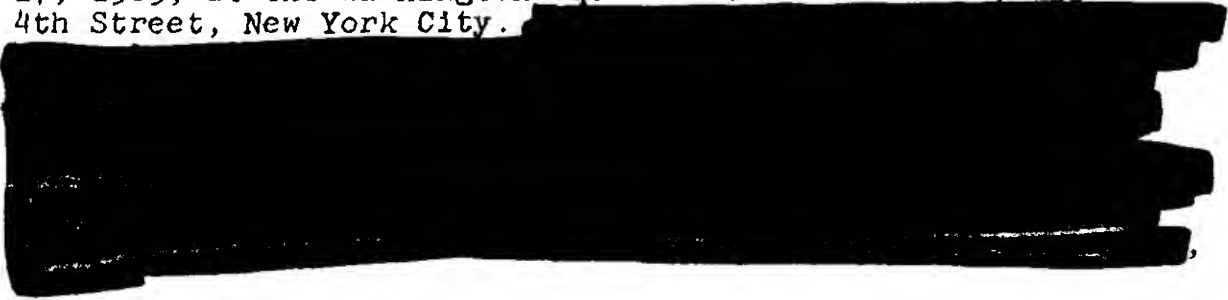
September 19, 1969

[REDACTED] advised on September 29, 1969, that IRVING DAVIS has been calling meetings of various SNCC functionaries who he feels will support him in his effort to oust JAMES FORMAN from SNCC.

[REDACTED]

II. NATIONAL STAFF MEETING

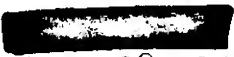
A National Staff Meeting of SNCC was held on June 16, 17, 1969, at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th Street, New York City.



The entire session of the National Staff meeting on June 16, 17, 1969, was confined to reports from the various geographical areas represented at the session and all were negative indicating nothing had been attempted or accomplished in those areas within the past year. During this session, H. RAF BROWN stated the organization was dying and it was incumbent upon those present to start anew.

JAMES FORMAN appeared at the conference at about 6 PM on June 16, 1969 and for four hours rambled on about his "Black Manifesto" and the potential for the NBEDC. He concluded his remarks by calling for the demise of the SNCC and rallying behind the ideals and program of the Black Manifesto. During the June 17, 1969 session, DAN ALDRIDGE, affiliated with SNCC in Detroit, remarked that SNCC could not continue to function effectively because no one in the organization knew what was going on.

The entire two days of the Staff meeting embraced nothing but personality conflicts and arguments among those present and nothing was accomplished or resolved. The only item of business that was decided was to adjourn this meeting for one month and reconvene in Atlanta, Georgia, some time in July, 1969.



June 18, 1969

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During the course of the SNCC National Staff meeting held in New York City, June 16, 17, 1969 the Texas Delegation together with WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, H. RAP BROWN, and others, attempted to take over control of SNCC and to change its name to Black Revolutionary Action Party headed by BROWN. The group said they were doing this because SNCC has had no major programs since 1966. JAMES FORMAN strongly objected to this strategy and threatened to resign from SNCC. Source stated that thereafter a motion was made and adopted calling another Staff meeting of SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 17, 1969 at which time a definite decision would be made concerning SNCC reorganization.

[REDACTED]
June 23, 1969

On July 18 1969, the following source advised that the SNCC Staff meeting scheduled for Atlanta, Georgia on July 17, 1969, was cancelled.

[REDACTED]
July 18, 1969

III. SNCC - DIRECTED PROGRAMS

A. National Black Anti-War, Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

The NBAWADU, as of May 16, 1969, was located at 2409 7th Avenue, New York City, under the leadership of JAMES ALEXANDER JOHNSON of the Fort Hood Three. The Fort Hood Three were the three Fort Hood soldiers who refused to serve in Viet Nam. The NBAWADU is a SNCC-directed project and is their anti-draft program.

[REDACTED]
May 22, 1969

NY 100-147963

[REDACTED]

May 26, 1969

The following source advised on September 26, 1969, that there has been no activity in the NBAWADU, 2409 7th Avenue, since June, 1969. The source said that the NBAWADU had occupied a store front at 2409 7th Avenue, since early in 1969 and last paid their rent in June, 1969. The management of the premises has since rented the store to another tenant. No one has been observed in the NBAWADU Office for several months.

[REDACTED]

September 26, 1969

B. SNCC International Affairs Commission

At a press conference given by H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC at New York SNCC Office, 300 9th Avenue, New York City, on July 22, 1969, it was announced that IRVING DAVIS now directs the International Affairs Commission replacing JAMES FORMAN in that position.

[REDACTED]

July 31, 1969

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY 100-147963

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
June 19, 1969

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
July 17, 1969

V. SNCC ACTIVITIES

A. Support of the National Black Economic Development Conference
(NBEDC)

JAMES FORMAN appeared before the New York Presbyterian Conference in San Antonio, Texas, in May, 1969, and republished the demands set forth in the Black Manifesto issued by the NBEDC.

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Supporters of JAMES FORMAN as of May 16, 1969 had seized control of the 11th floor at 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, which is the inter-church center. The purpose of this sit-in demonstration was to urge compliance with the demands of the Black Manifesto. Several individuals from SNCC were assisting in the sit-in demonstration at 475 Riverside Drive.

[REDACTED]
May 19, 1969

As of June 6, 1969, JAMES FORMAN had taken over three floor at 475 Riverside Drive with about two dozen of his followers in implementation of the Black Manifesto. Also present for a short time to lend his support was H. RAP BROWN.

[REDACTED]
June 6, 1969

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
July 23, 1969

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
July 28, 1969

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
August 19, 1969

B. Campus Appearance of SNCC Leaders

[REDACTED]


[REDACTED]
July 31, 1969

The following source advised on August 13, 1969, that SNCC was sending representatives to attend the National Students Association, 22nd National Student Congress, scheduled to be held at the University of Texas at El Paso, commencing August 16, 1969.

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

NY 100-147963

SNCC people attending the conference would be led by GWEN PATTON of SNCC Washington, DC. SNCC hoped through attendance at this conference to be able to formulate plans for organizing students on campus.


August 13, 1969

-19-

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
October 16, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. NY 100-147963

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING
 COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference is made to report of Special Agent
[REDACTED] dated and captioned as above at New York,
New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

[REDACTED] Contact with this informant has been insufficient to
determine reliability.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

7772

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/21/70	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/18/69 - 1/16/70
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY [REDACTED]
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 10/16/69, at New York.
Bureau airtel, dated 12/12/69.

-P-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified "Confidential" due to the information from [REDACTED] who are informants of [REDACTED]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVICTED	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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BY:	HOW FORW:	pm/dll		

62 FEB 5 1970

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GPO : 1969 O - 280-01

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ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could compromise their future effectiveness and have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the United States.

Current status of SNCC members in New York is:

H. RAP BROWN

IRVING DAVIS

FRANCES BEAL

WILLIAM HUNT

RON JACKSON

JUDY SULLIVAN

Information copies of this report are designated for AT, CI, KX and SV, as current SNCC activity is occurring in these divisions.

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1-Savannah (157-1422) (INFO) (RM)

-B-
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NY 100-147963

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report SNCC activity in 90 days.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of:

Date:

1/21/70

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #:

100-147963

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

N.Y. SNCC shares space in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 W. 20th St., NYC. This is the National Office of SNCC. There are three SNCC chapters presently in the US: Atlanta, Georgia, Cincinnati, Ohio, and NYC, with seven persons active in NYC, including National Chairman, H. RAP BROWN. SNCC published one issue of a newsletter in the summer of 1969, and has been trying to publish regular issues since that time. New rules and regulations for SNCC members were adopted at National Staff meetings in NYC, November, 1969. These rules set forth. SNCC is planning to buy land in Tennessee as part of their new Agrarian Reform Program. SNCC has issued several booklets, including one on organization of a Revolutionary Action Party and two on guerilla warfare. These booklets are set forth. After National Staff meetings SNCC leaders reportedly indicated they felt that due to lack of funds, SNCC is not able to effectively carry out any type of endeavor.

-P-

Classified by 1259
Exempt from GDS Category 3
Date of Declassification Indefinite
8/22/88 JEMAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OFClassification
DATE 8/25/78 BY S.G.~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~GROUP 1~~~~Excluded From Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification~~

NY 100-147963

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is in the appendix.

I. LOCATION OF NATIONAL OFFICE

On November 25, 1969 [REDACTED] advised that the National Office of SNCC is located at 336 West 20th Street, New York City (NYC). SNCC has the use of a large room in the Rectory of St. Peter's Episcopal Church. SNCC use of this space is not exclusive and other groups also have use of this space. SNCC does not function regularly at this office and as much as three days will elapse between times when an SNCC member will be present. There is no telephone service for SNCC and no rent is charged for this space.

II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

SNCC has three chapters currently active throughout the United States. All other previously active chapters have ceased functioning. These chapters are NYC, Atlanta, Georgia and Cincinnati, Ohio. NYC has seven members, Atlanta three and Cincinnati three. There are two people in Baltimore, Maryland, one in Austin, Texas, and two in Detroit, Michigan, who are considered to be part of SNCC, although they are not active and no chapters are active in those locations.

[REDACTED]
January 12, 1970

NY 100-142963

IRVING B. DAVIS H. RAP BROWN is the National Chairman of SNCC and IRVING B. DAVIS is the Director of International Affairs. WILLIAM "MOHAMMED" HUNT is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council. The other four persons active in NYC are considered to be members of the National Staff.

[REDACTED]
January 12, 1970

U.Y. H. RAP BROWN, IRVING DAVIS and WILLIAM "MOHAMMED" HUNT appeared to be the controlling forces within SNCC. DAVIS recently remarked that JAMES FORMAN, a former National SNCC official, is no longer affiliated with SNCC. BROWN, HUNT and DAVIS have the idea that SNCC can be built up again to the organization it once was, however, they currently lack the necessary finances and have not been able to afford the installation of a telephone in the space they use as an office. N.Y.

[REDACTED]
December 22, 1969

The current membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 11 members. The office is at Rockdale Temple, Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
September 17, 1969
September 22, 1969

The SNCC office in Atlanta, Georgia, is at 360 Nelson Street Southwest. There are three persons who are currently active in SNCC.

[REDACTED]
December 3, 1969

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The SNCC office in Atlanta has for the past few months developed into more or less "dormitories" for the "parasites" who have no jobs or other meaningful purposes.

[REDACTED]
September 19, 1969

III. FACTIONALISM IN SNCC

There continues to be dissension in SNCC with much dissatisfaction of IRVING DAVIS. DAVIS is considered by some to be dead weight and has been criticized for not having done anything of a constructive nature since he has been an SNCC official.

[REDACTED]
November 7, 1969

WILLIAM HUNT and IRVING DAVIS have not been able to get along as HUNT has been critical of DAVIS and DAVIS cannot stand criticism.

[REDACTED]
November 19, 1969

A severe conflict exists between FRANCES BEAL (a member of the National Staff) and WILLIAM HUNT. Reportedly BEAL recently made application to the Episcopal Peace Fellowship for money to get her group which she calls Women's Liberation Movement off the ground. DAVIS

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is supposedly the cause of this application being rejected on the basis of his efforts to be included in the grant. Because of this type conduct on DAVIS' part, efforts have been undertaken by HUNT and others to chastise him.

[REDACTED]
November 25, 1969

There have been accusations within SNCC that IRVING DAVIS has been stealing SNCC funds for his own use. Particularly, FRANCES BEAL has been heard to relate that in the past when SNCC receives checks and DAVIS gets his hands on these checks he cashes them for himself.

[REDACTED]
December 9, 1969

During the SNCC National Staff meeting in NYC on November 10, 1969 and November 11, 1969, WILLIAM HUNT remarked to those present that IRVING DAVIS was suspected of misappropriating organizational funds. HUNT advocated that he be chastised, however, it was not advocated he be expelled. It was speculated that expulsion was not entertained due to the fact DAVIS is currently frequenting the offices of African representatives to the United Nations (UN) and is regarded by SNCC as the only one with foreign contacts.

[REDACTED]
November 13, 1969

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IV. FINANCES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On December 22, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC currently lacks finances to rebuild the organization. They have not yet been able to raise money to have a telephone installed in the NYC office.

V. FOREIGN CONTACTS

On November 19, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that IRVING DAVIS, Director of International Affairs of SNCC, has been spending a lot of time at United Nations.

[REDACTED]

JAPAN

VIETNAM

CHINA

RUSSIA

8

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[REDACTED]

HUNT has claimed that on this trip he and STONE also visited Japan, North and South Vietnam, China and Russia, where they were allowed to tour these countries.

VI. NATIONAL STAFF MEETINGS,
NEW YORK CITY
NOVEMBER, 1969

[REDACTED] advised on November 18, 1969, that on the evening of November 4, 1969 and November 5, 1969, members of the SNCC held meetings at the National SNCC headquarters in New York City. Those attending these meetings who were not from New York City had been sent special invitations. Among those present were TERRY AUDREY, FRANCES BEAL, MUHAMMAD HUNT, RON JACKSON, and PHIL HUTCHINGS of New York City. Others observed in attendance were JIMMIE LAZARE of New Orleans, Louisiana, and GEORGE HUGHES and TAYLOR HUGHES of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The main portions of these meetings were presentation and discussion regarding new guidelines and rules and regulations for SNCC members as well as an organizational restructuring of SNCC for the future.

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A mimeographed draft of new rules and regulations pertaining to members was furnished to those in attendance. This draft had been prepared by RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT. After much discussion and suggestions of those in attendance, this draft was corrected and adopted.

Also at these meetings, those in attendance were provided mimeographed copies of SNCC's Agrarian Reform Program. After discussions and suggestions, corrections were made and these drafts were approved.

The following are the adopted drafts:


SNCC


----- DRAFT -----

The absence of organizational guidelines has precipitated undisciplined and counter-revolutionary behavior on the part of individuals in the organization in the past. Therefore, the following rules and regulations shall heretofore be put into effect:

POLITICAL

1. All persons, volunteers, and organizers engaging in SNCC activities and functions shall be subject to the rules, regulations and political positions established by the decision-making body of the organization. (The Revolutionary Political Council)
2. All persons willfully engaged in politically detrimental activities to the organization shall be expelled from the organization after review by staff members and the RPC. Such activities to be determined by SNCC staff members and the RPC. Members who participate in or contribute to misinformation and untruths concerning the organization in public or elsewhere shall be reprimanded on the 1st account and given political education on the position of the organization and upon the 2nd offense, shall be expelled.
3. Those persons who are absent or late for organizational appointments 4 times within a one month period shall be brought before the local staff and if said person is a frequent offender, he will be brought before the R.P.C.
4. Members who willfully disobey orders from people delegated responsibility by the R.P.C. will be brought before the R.P.C. for disciplinary action and/or dismissal from the organization.

- 
5. All internal dissension and discussion shall be carried out by those parties involved and at no time shall arguments be tolerated in the presence of the public.
 6. No member or person involved in the organization shall sanction the use of his/her name by any indigenous group, organization, etc. without the acknowledgment of the R.P.C.
 7. No SNCC person, chapter, etc. shall make alliances with local or national or international groups or individuals without informing the Revolutionary Political Council.
 8. All SNCC personnel including office workers, indigenous groups, etc. shall spend at least 15 days per month in community on one or more political projects.
 9. Any member convicted of victimizing any other member of the organization (or member of the community) shall be expelled after the first warning.
 10. Those persons assigned special tasks by office staff head and who do not function properly shall be replaced if R.P.C. finds them working below his/her fullest capacity.
 11. All officers heading up any of the 7 or more networks shall be subordinate to the R.P.C. Each member or head shall, after review, be placed on the Council or Committee according to his/her work record, dedication, political ability, etc.
 12. All office holders of the aforementioned networks shall present an outline of past and future activities to be reviewed by the R.P.C. upon the request of the R.P.C.

- 
13. All national and international verbal and written contracts, documents, and contacts shall be approved by the decision of the R.P.C.
 14. Any member of the organization found guilty one or more times of being discourteous, arrogant or egotistical toward people in the community shall:
 1. Be reprimanded and/or transferred or expelled if necessary from the project and/or the organization.
 2. Be given political education on the correct nature of dealing with people.
 15. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Political Council shall be elected by the said Council and the National Chairman. (In cases of emergency where the Council cannot meet, the National Chairman and those members of the Council present shall elect a Chairman of the R.P.C. on the selection of RPC members.
 16. All SNCC chapters are required to have (1) Work-Study classes, and (2) Cadre Meetings at least once a month (preferably the last Sunday each month).

ECONOMIC

1. Those persons actively engaged in full-time work for the organization shall receive only a subsistence allowance according to (a) need, and (b) circumstance.
2. Except in cases of extreme emergency, all monies will be distributed equally to SNCC personnel. Need will be a determining factor as to priority in cases of conflict.
3. Those persons who participate willfully in embezzlement, hide or conceal, or hide and conceal information

concerning financial matters of the organization or personal financial matters, shall be, upon conviction, punished by the following:

- A. Mandated to solicit a job within the system within 2 weeks following conviction and mandated to contribute 2/3 of their net salary to the organization for a period of 3 months.
 - B. Mandated to organize a political function twice a month for a four-month period, with gross proceeds going to the organization.
 - C. Or other punishment to be determined by the Revolutionary Political Council.
4. All cadres will be required to sell 50 copies of the national SNCC newspaper. This number will increase or decrease proportionally as production and output increase. Whenever possible, cadres will be required to pay for newspapers in advance to insure payment for producing the next edition of the paper. Cadres will have 10 days in which to sell newspapers. Suggestions may be made to the communications network and/or other related printed matter.
 5. All economic matters, implementation or organization programs, and so on, shall take precedent over all other matters. Monies shall be used to implement programs of the organization first, subsistence pay will have to take 2nd place.

REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY

1. A high degree of respect between members and others of the organization must be maintained at all times.
2. Anyone who knowingly exploits either economic, military or political situations for personal gain will be brought before the R.P.C. and following conviction

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shall be immediately expelled or otherwise punished. Opportunism in any form shall be dealt with appropriate action by the R.P.C. and/or office or committee head.

MILITARY

1. All members of the organization over the age of 15 shall know or be instructed in operating an automobile and truck.
2. SNCC personnel should be encouraged to register with a karate class. Cadres should achieve at least knowledge of self defense and attack. Cadres will be tested by instructor.
3. The use of all drugs, narcotics, etc. including marijuana, is strictly forbidden to any member of the organization. The use of alcohol should also be extremely limited. Any member of the organization found in a state of intoxication will be immediately suspended from the organization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RESOLUTIONS: TO BE ADOPTED

- (1) THAT WE ADOPT AND SUPPORT THE SNCC AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM (see detached sheet)
- (2) THAT WE ADOPT & INITIATE ALL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, & POLITICAL ASPECTS OF BLACK LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES
- (3) THAT WE (SNCC) SEE OURSELVES AS INITIATING ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE FUTURE; AND THAT WE (EACH CHAPTER) IMMEDIATELY EMBARK ON THE TASK OF RECRUITING A CADRE OF NO MORE THAN 15 BROTHERS AND SISTERS.
- (4) THAT WE ADOPT NEW RULES & REGULATIONS LAID DOWN BY THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COUNCIL FOR PURPOSES (RULES & REGULATIONS TO BE DISCUSSED BY MEMBERS PRESENT) OF DISCIPLINARY AND GUIDANCE.
- (5) THAT WE ENERGETICALLY ADOPT & IMPLEMENT THE TWO MAJOR AREAS OF CONCENTRATION WHICH ARE THE MILITARY AND THE ECONOMIC, AND THAT STARTING IMMEDIATELY EVERY CHAPTER MUST SOLICIT AT LEAST ONE M1 GARRAND, A .38 REVOLVER, & A CROSSBOW.
- (6) THAT ALL SNCC PERSONNEL SHALL BECOME A POLITICO-MILITARY CADRE, THAT IS TO SAY THAT THEY SHOULD BE ABLE & COMPETENT TO FUNCTION UNDER ANY POLITICAL SITUATION.
- (7) THAT EACH CADRE BE TRAINED IN THE FIELD OF THE MARTIAL ARTS.
- (8) THAT WE ADOPT THE CODE OF CONDUCT OF ACCEPTING IN MIND AND BODY BLACK WOMEN IN THE STRUFFLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT WE ACCEPT WOMEN ON AN EQUAL BASIS.

THAT WE BEGIN TO ORGANIZE AROUND THE CONSCIOUSNESS REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE.

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[REDACTED] advised that it was also brought out at these meetings that SNCC is to restructure itself in the future so that there will be seven councils within SNCC. One of these councils will be called the Revolutionary Political Council (RPC), which will be the new decision-making body within SNCC in much the same manner as the old Central Committee. Other councils to be the Revolutionary Economic Council, Armed Guerrilla Tactics Council, and the Research Council. Source advised he could not recall the identities of the other councils. This source stated that when all of the seven councils were formed, they would make up a body within SNCC to be known as the Revolutionary Action Party (RAP).

This source advised that at the present time the above restructuring is only in the formative stage and were the ideas of RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT.

It was also brought out at these meetings that the projected plans for SNCC in the future would be that each SNCC chapter would also have the same seven councils and, as the national body, seven to ten persons would be members of each chapter council. The chapter councils would be responsible to and guided by the corresponding council at the national headquarters.

Those in attendance were provided with SNCC handbooks with instructions to study and learn their content. They were also informed that from time to time other SNCC members from the United States would be asked to come to New York where they would be provided with the same information.

The source advised that they had been informed that these handbooks allegedly had been prepared within the past two or three months under the direction of RAP BROWN and MUHAMMAD HUNT.

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These handbooks are identified as follows:

Revolutionary Action Party (RAP)
Handbook #1

Revolutionary Action Party (RAP)
Handbook #2

A Guerrilla Warfare Curriculum
Handbook #3

Handbook #4 entitled "Guerrilla Warfare"

A handbook entitled "In Memory of CHE"

A Xerox copy of RAP Handbook #1 is in the
appendix of this report.

RAP Handbook #2 is a 19 page booklet on
how to shoot both pistols and rifles.

A Xerox copy of Handbook #3, a Guerrilla
Warfare Curriculum, is in the appendix of this report.

A Xerox copy of Handbook #4, entitled "Guerrilla
Warfare", is in the appendix of this report.

The handbook entitled "In Memory of CHE" is a 26
page booklet on first aid.



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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On December 2, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that in connection with the meeting held by SNCC on November 10, 1969 and November 11, 1969, neither H. RAP BROWN nor IRVING DAVIS were present. Contacts with these leaders subsequent to this meeting revealed that both exhibited skepticism regarding the topics discussed and indicated that the organization, because of its lack of funds, was not able to effectively carry out any type of endeavor.

VII. SNCC NEWSLETTER

On September 23, 1969, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of volume one of a publication captioned "National SNCC". Informant stated SNCC hopes to publish this bimonthly, but this will depend on finances.

This first issue contained a [REDACTED] number of articles as follows:

1. An article by H. RAP BROWN, in which he stated during the past year, SNCC has been trying to regroup, reorganize, study and pull itself together for the struggle that lies ahead.

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2. An article on Zambia expropriating mining rights.
3. An article on AHMED EVANS, who is scheduled to be electricuted in Cleveland for murdering three policemen.
4. An article on the SNCC Program on Agrarian Reform.
5. An article on a SNCC Program to provide free medical service to people in Brooklyn, New York.
6. An article on the people of North Korea and on United States aggression in the Korean War.
7. An article on SNCC Black Women's Liberation Committee, which is to help liberate Black women from economic exploitation.

On November 13, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that this newsletter was mimeographed at SNCC headquarters in New York City on the SNCC mimeograph which SNCC has had for a considerable time. To date, this newsletter was printed only one time. The moving force behind it was WILLIAM HUNT, a SNCC official in New York. There was no financing necessary for this newsletter and while some copies may have been mailed, most were distributed by hand as SNCC has insufficient funds for a large mailing.

[REDACTED]
This newsletter was designed to be informative, as well as to arouse interest and financing, but none of these objectives have been accomplished.

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[REDACTED]

A characterization of the "Guardian" is in the appendix of this report.

Concerning this newsletter, on November 25, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that it is proposed that it will deal with the economic plight of oppressed people and will attempt to educate them.

On December 22, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that HUNT is experiencing considerable difficulty in publishing this newsletter due to mechanical failure of equipment he is using at the office of the "Guardian" in New York City.

VIII. SNCC PROGRAMS

A. Agrarian Reform Program

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On December 9, 1969, [REDACTED] provided the following information:

He advised that MUHAMMAD HUNT is the Coordinator of the SNCC Agrarian Reform Program. He advised that SNCC is in bad financial shape but that HUNT claims that he has a person not further identified, who would put up the money for the purchase of land in Maryville, Tennessee, for the Agrarian Reform Program. HUNT has indicated that before this land is purchased, he wants to be sure that the land will fit the needs of SNCC's program.

HUNT has designated GEORGE HUGHES and TAYLOR HUGHES of SNCC at Cincinnati, Ohio, and TERRY KARDREY of SNCC at New York to make contacts in order to get professional help and counseling in the operation of this farm. These three persons have been charged with finding the manpower to come and operate the farm as well as to make contact with college students to see if they would be willing to come to the farm and do volunteer work. HUNT has indicated that he is presently working on the raising of money to buy the land as well as obtaining farm machinery.

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On December 22, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that HUNT is still involved in the acquisition of a farm for SNCC in the vicinity of Morristown, Tennessee, which he stated would be an excellent base for SNCC affiliates to involve themselves in the mechanics of firearms familiarization. Source related HUNT is reluctant to discuss any details surrounding the acquisition of this farm site. He is the only one in the organization knowledgeable in the facts relating to the attempted acquisition of this farm; however, he has requested GEORGE and TAYLOR HUGHES of the Cincinnati, Ohio, SNCC Chapter to travel to Morristown, Tennessee to survey the farmland.

In early December, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that National SNCC had made a down payment of \$2,000 on 200 acres of land located about 10 to 15 miles northeast of Morristown, Tennessee on Routes 11 E or 11 W; that HUNT himself did not know the exact location; that the purchase was in the hands of a broker, and in the name of another, name not disclosed, but that a map or details would be furnished Cincinnati SNCC whenever same became available.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] further advised that a group of SNCC leaders from Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 7, 1969, traveled to the general area northeast of Morristown, Tennessee, and received the impression that the land was old with deteriorating farms, a one crop yield, small Black population and some re-zoning to industrial use.

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On December 18, 1969, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Blount County Courthouse,
Maryville, Tennessee, advised that there has not
been any individual or group negotiating for the
purchase of land in the amount of 300 acres in
the vicinity of Maryville. He stated that any
such purchase would have to go through his office.

The SNCC Agrarian Program, adopted at the
National Staff Conference on November 10, 1969 -
November 11, 1969, as furnished November 13, 1969,
by [REDACTED] is as follows:

SNCC'S AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

page #1

The agrarian reform program is the concept of uniting working tenant farmers and share-croppers of the South and Southwestern United States, into a co-operative system for the purpose of establishing:

- (1) A common means of production
- (2) A "socialized" use of agriculture, machinery, and livestock by pooling land purchased from indigenous sources.
- (3) An organized method of farmers engaged in work activity and receiving the fruits of their labor.

Thereby enabling them to deal with the problem of acquiring the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter.

In conjunction with this, the program will seek to raise the political consciousness of this segment of the Black Population, and turn them on to the road of constructive radical change.

The program will entail all aspects mentioned below:

- (1) Land purchases
- (2) Organizers and Administrators
- (3) Rules and Regulations
- (4) Political Education
- (5) Artificial insemination for increased production of hide, milk product, and meat.
- (6) Soil Cultivation and Conservation
- (7) House construction (to be carried out by the organizers)
- (8) Plant and Animal Culture
- (9) Equipment (tractors, ploughs, discs, combines, etc.)
- (10) Research teams (studying the soil, and land prices)
- (11) Purchase of plant and vegetables (seeds)
- (12) Community day care centers
- (13) Free medical centers

In the future, it is our hope to purchase a minimum of 200 acres of land, on which we will proceed to erect housing for the tenant farmers, and start cultivation of the acquired land immediately. To facilitate the manpower needed, we are initiating a drive on college campuses for students to go into the South to work on the Co-operatives.

SOME RULES AND REGULATIONS:

- (1) All persons over the age of 15 years who live on the co-operative farm will be required to work in or around the farm in whatever manner the Tenant Farmers Directive see fit.
- (2) Those persons who contribute their land or whatever resources to the co-operative farm shall be given 2/3 the value of their property whenever possible, when joining the co-operative farm.
- (3) All persons engaged in the co-operative farm shall receive an equal share of all goods and services rendered by the co-operative farm.
- (4) All persons engaged in the co-operative farm shall receive in-full, the nearest possible value of their labor.
- (5) Those persons who work in the cities in factories and plants can become members of the co-operative farm by contributing such needed resources: machinery, plants and vegetables, and other such related items, on a regular basis or when the need arises.
- (6) All persons living on the co-operative farm will be required to engage in some form of work activity.
- (7) A Tenant Farmers Directive shall be immediately set-up, composed of those selected persons who exhibit the greatest amount of political awareness and self-sacrifice.
- (8) Once the T.F.D. has been established, SNCC will then become the administrator and advisor.
- (9) A minimum of at least six (6) hours of political Education per week shall be required of each person engaged in the farming Co-operative.

SNCC'S AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

page #3

RESEARCH TEAMS:

We have co-ordinated a joint effort to establish a research team composed of (1) an Agricultural expert, (2) a land buying expert (or real estate agent), (3) an individual directly responsible for doing research in to the holdings of all government owned property, and (4) an expert who will assist in doing research and experiments in plant cultures. We are at present doing research on soil conservation and cultivation (the Atlanta SNCC Chapter has had some success in this area of research)

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION:

To increase and insure the continuity of the Agrarian Reform Program, we have embarked upon a complete and thorough examination of artificial insemination : we shall institute the artificial insemination process into the Co-operative farm because of the many benefits of this scientific process of cattle production and breeding. This process is of the utmost importance because of the many benefits gathered from it such as (1) a faster rate of cattle-birth, (2) hygiene, (3) an abundance of milk and milk by-products, (4) the hide, which can be used for leather (shoes, boots, etc.) and (5) the meat itself. Tenant Farmers shall be educated in this field.

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION:

Housing shall be built on the Co-operative farm as need and resources permit. All housing, which will accomodate Tenant Farmers, shall be built jointly by organizers and Tenant Farmers. Students and other indigneous organizers shall be instructed in the building of housing units, before doing work on the Co-operative. All housing shall be built with funds accumulated from various sources. All materials such as lumber, nails, hammers, saws, shovels, electrical wiring, tar, and other roofing materials will be solicited by the efforts of students SNCC cadres and other indigneous sources.

Note:

- (A) A downpayment will soon be made on the Agrarian Reform land.
- (B) Preparations are also being made to have 25 head of cattle donated.
- (C) Preparations are also underway to have chickens donated.
- (D) The land will be "logged" (that is to say that the land will be cleared, and the timber sold, which would bring in some form of

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B. Coffeehouse,
Augusta, Georgia

On December 15, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that several SNCC leaders from Atlanta and New York, had made a trip to Augusta, Georgia, in connection with some type of community project SNCC was considering.

[REDACTED]

On December 19, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that H. RAP BROWN had recently commented that SNCC will open a coffeehouse similar to those presently operated by White anti-war groups. BROWN remarked that IRVING DAVIS had recently traveled to Augusta, Georgia and reportedly had located a site to establish a coffeehouse for Negro soldiers stationed at Fort Gordon, Georgia. He stated that he hoped to open this coffeehouse on January 15, 1970, and was trying to secure JULIAN BOND, Georgia State Legislator, and former national official of SNCC, as the opening speaker. He stated the purpose of this coffeehouse will be to foment anti-war sentiment among Black soldiers and residents of the Black community.

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C. National Black Anti-War,
Anti-Draft Union (NBAWADU)

NBAWADU is an SNCC directed project and is their Anti-Draft Program.

[REDACTED]
May 22, 1969

On October 9, 1969 [REDACTED] advised that the leader of NBAWADU has been JIMMY JOHNSON. Informant stated he has been totally inactive with respect to his efforts to re-organize NBAWADU. Informant stated this organization is not now functioning and has no office location in New York City or elsewhere. *N.Y.*

IX. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER GROUPS

A. Republic of New Africa

[REDACTED] *69*
48
N.Y.
N.Y.

A characterization of RNA is in the appendix.

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X. MISCELLANEOUS

On January 9, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC had compiled information on the installation of indoor firearms ranges and had prepared a document entitled "Reducing Noise in a Basement Range". This information was reportedly compiled by WILLIAM HUNT and as yet there has been no effort to effect distribution of this material. [REDACTED] advised that HUNT has made no effort nor does he have any plans for the establishment of an indoor firearms range. He reportedly obtained this information from commercial publications available in the open market, dealing with firearms and target shooting. This material is as follows:

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REDUCING NOISE IN A BASEMENT RANGE:

The installation of an indoor range is very often practicable even in the average home basement. Provided a safe and workable range can be fitted into the available space, the principal difficulty with home basement ranges is the amount of noise.

A limited amount of sound absorption can be obtained with rugs and wall hangings. However, this may not be sufficient to prevent annoyance to those upstairs, and the neighbors; and in the basement such materials can hardly be used. The most efficient and effective method is to muffle the noise at its source. The noise comes from both the gun and the bullet-stop.

Non-metallic bullet-stops for air, CO₂, and .22 rimfire weapons, as detailed in the above thesis have the advantage of being quiet. Steel plate bullet-stops or bullet traps ring when they are struck. Experiments show, this sound was somewhat damped by wiring insulating board to all 4 sides of a heavy bullet-trap. Effectiveness is improved by cementing the insulation to the steel surface. It has been reported that sandbags piled closely on the trap or steel plate are also effective.

For muffling the more important noise at the gun, the most convenient arrangement is a pair of sound absorbing boards hinged to the ceiling so that when lowered, they hang close on each side of the gun muzzle. The boards must be at least 4 ft. square, and constructed of acoustical tile for this purpose, have the dealer recommend a type that has maximum sound deadening qualities. Handguns should be held entirely within the boards. This arrangement is adequate only when a limited amount of sound reduction is sufficient.

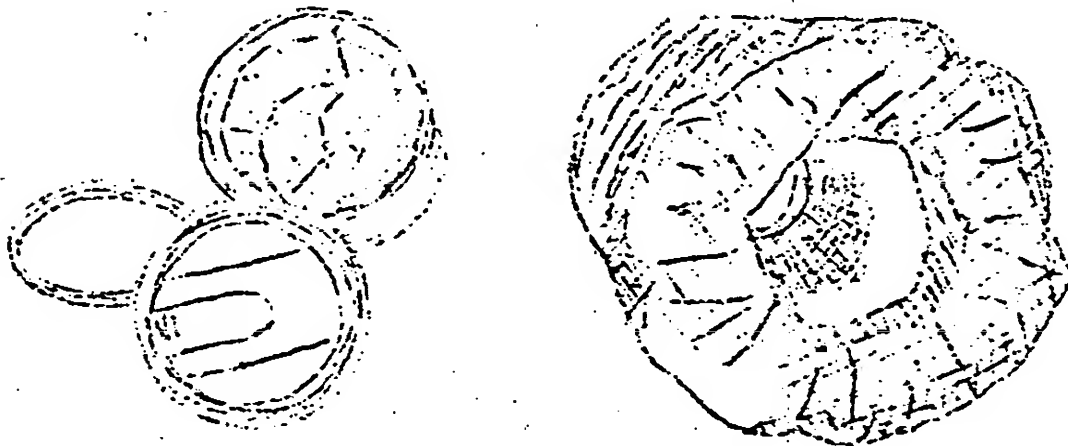
The muffling can be improved by making up such sound-absorbing boards in a long box. For smallbore rifle firing, a box one foot square and 4 ft. long is adequate. This requires 4 acoustical tiles on each of the 4 sides and one on each end. A larger box is necessary for center-fire handgun shooting because for effectiveness the gun must be held with at least its barrel inside the box. With either size, the end holes of the boxes must be kept as small as practicable.

NOISE REDUCTION EFFECTIVE

A box of this kind lowers the pitch of the report, which makes it less disagreeable. The actual noise reduction has been estimated by the user, after careful trials, as much as 50% in the case of the .22 target handguns of standard barrel length, to only 20% with .45 ACP full loads.

A large box on this system, measuring 2ft. square by 4ft. long, was tested by a technical staff with target handguns in .22 long rifle, .38 Special, and .45 ACP. A marked noise reduction was obtained, but not nearly so great as with a muffler of the type next to be described. Also the size and weight of such a box are definite disadvantages.

A highly effective muffler is shown in the photograph.



Its foundation is a 40" length of hardware cloth 36" wide. (hardware cloth is a 1/2" wire mesh readily obtainable under that name at hardware stores.) Roll and fasten this material into a cylinder 36" long and about 12" diameter. Into one end make 6 cuts evenly spaced, each 8" deep. Do the same at the other end, making the cuts 6" deep.

Fold the segments inward like the ends of a fish trap, leaving a 4" and a 6" opening respectively. The overlapping cut segments should be stitched with light bell wire.

Wrap on a strip 3ft. wide by 6ft. long of fiberglass insulation 1" thick, such as Sears Roebuck "Aerocar". This length will go around the cylinder almost twice. Hold the insulation in place with a layer of burlap. Then wrap on another length of the burlap, and also covering the whole cylinder with burlap, stitching in place with bell wire. The completed muffler weighs a total of approximately 7 3/4 lbs.

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SNCC

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In the judgement of observers stationed in an adjoining room, this muffler reduced the noise from .22, .38 Special, and .45 ACP target handguns by at least half, and also made it much less sharp and penetrating. The sound-absorbing qualities of sponge rubber have been used by lining a cardboard barrel with it. Sponge rubber taken from junked automobiles (seats), and therefore low in cost, can be used. As in a box lined with acoustical tile, the ends as well as sides of the container must be lined, and end openings kept as small as possible. All mufflers slowly accumulate unburned powder residue, in the same way that such residue accumulates on indoor range floors. In a closed muffler, the eventual ignition of this material would be disconcerting and might amount to a serious explosion. A lined box should be built with one side removable for vacuum cleaning the lining at intervals. This is also provided for in the removable lid of a lined cardboard barrel. A muffler built up by wrapping insulating material on a mesh form is not practically dismantlable, and should simply be replaced after considerable service.

APPENDIX

1.

THE "GUARDIAN" FORMERLY KNOWN AS
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN" WEEKLY GUARDIAN
ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. ...'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly... it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'"

The February 3, 1968 issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian".

The May 10, 1969 issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East 4th Street, New York, New York.

The February 12, 1968 issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled, "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement'". This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a Radical Movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists."

APPENDIX

2.

THE "GUARDIAN" (CONT'D)

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stated that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

A characterization of the American Labor Party is attached separately.

APPENDIX

1.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the American Labor Party:

"AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

- "1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.'
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)
- "2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the * * * American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

On October 7, 1956, PETER HAWLEY, New York State Chairman, American Labor Party, publicly announced the American Labor Party State Committee unanimously approved a resolution dissolving the organization and ordering the liquidation of its assets.

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APPENDIX

1.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

A source has advised that the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is an all-Negro organization founded in Detroit, Michigan, in March, 1968. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, who was then residing in Peking, China, was named as its President-in-Exile. WILLIAMS fled the United States in 1961 following issuance of a local warrant for his arrest on a charge of kidnapping growing out of a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina. He published and broadcast hate-type material in Cuba and China prior to his return to the United States in September, 1969.

A second source has advised that the purpose of the RNA is to establish an independent black nation within the United States, demanding the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in addition to \$10,000 per black citizen as payment for 400 years of ancestral slave labor.

A third source advised on March 14, 1969, that an army of the RNA, known as the Black Legion, dedicated to black freedom and committed to the concept of systematic armed revolution, has been established. Black Legion members are expected to participate in military training and engage in firearms practice. The RNA plans to establish an underground Black Legion in addition to an aboveground Black Legion in order to avoid detection by the police.

According to this source, Black Legion members acting as bodyguards at a session of the Second National Convention of the RNA in Detroit, Michigan, on March 29, 1969, were involved in a shoot-out with members of the Detroit Police Department which resulted in the killing of one policeman and the critical wounding of another.

APPENDIX

1.

STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960, during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who served as National Chairman during the period 1966-67, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a full-blown black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers, forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

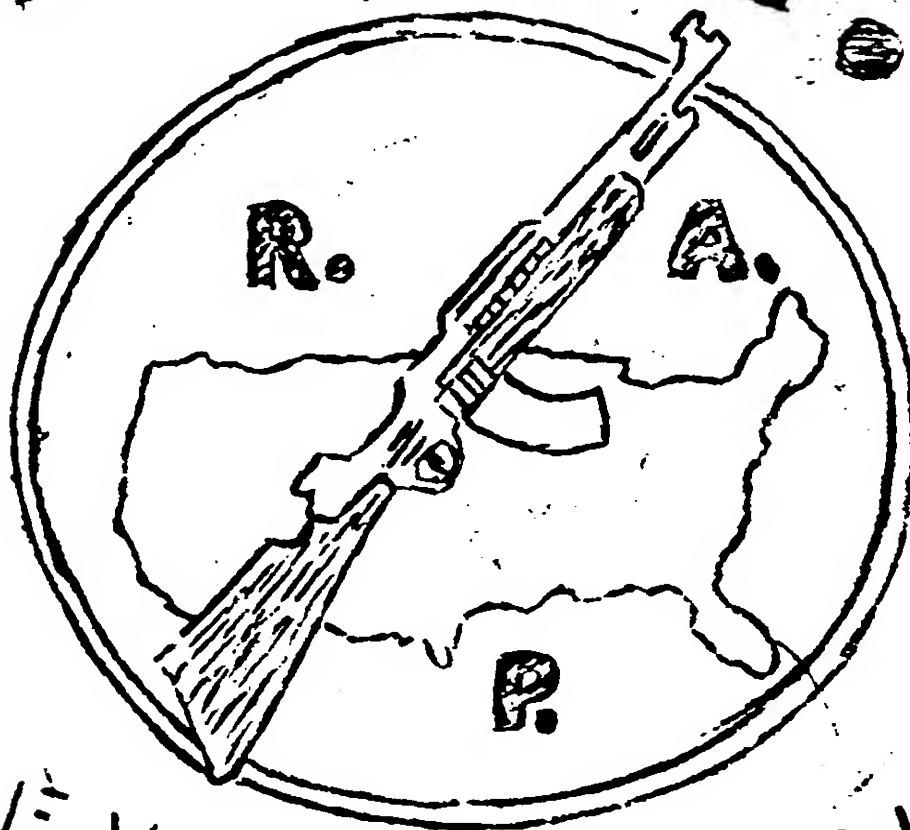
A second source advised that H. RAP BROWN succeeded CARMICHAEL as National Chairman of SNCC in May, 1968, and served in that capacity until June, 1968, at which time SNCC reorganized, creating ten deputy chairmen in an effort to relieve pressure by law enforcement.

In April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title and will be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee, with a Revolutionary Political Council functioning as its governing body. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

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R.A.A.P.



REVOLUTIONARY
ACTION
PARTY

HANDBOOK #1

If we are to organize in the urban areas (as well as rural), we must have such an organization that cannot be penetrated by the G.I.A., F.B.I., and the local police scoundrels, it is imperative that we, the SNICK vanguard organize on a 1 to 1 basis. Organizing on a 1 to 1 basis will eliminate (1) Infiltration by police scoundrel agents (2) Platoons will exist even if there is an informer or a Brother cracks under torture & interrogation. (3) No one will know more than one person.

Brothers should be constantly tested for sincerity, dedication, intelligence, and his ability to learn the Revolutionary martial arts. Training will consist of:

- (1) Intelligence
- (2) Weaponry (Field stripping, etc.)
- (3) Demolition (under water demolition included)
- (4) Karate
- (5) Professional Organizing
- (6) Medicine (comprehensive course in medical training)
- (7) Supplies
- (8) Structure
- (9) Rank
- (10) Subversion
- (11) Method of selecting most important military targets to destroy.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY:

Techniques for Organizing the Black Resistance Movement:

- (1) Always organize and recruit 1 to 1. This is for your protection, as well as the network. This is to protect also the person with whom you are contacting. When you explain these rules of security to one person, make sure that you have confidence in him or her. For once you talk with him or her, he then becomes part of the network and there is no quitting once a person is in. Functions of Brothers may vary but there is no quitting once a person is in. Tell each person to talk to ten people. Operating from the basis that once you have made contact with one individual, it then becomes your responsibility to (1) Politically Educate (correctly) (2) Teach how to organize (3) Give him ideological direction and (4) Military Training. This Bro. or Sister will in-turn go out and get 1 brother or sister using the same training procedure used on him or her. The third (3rd) person contacted will not know the first (1st) person, nor will the fourth (4th) know the second (2nd) person in his or her network. At least 4 weeks of political education (basic) should be completed by the recruit before he is accepted (officially) into the network. Political Education classes should be carried out whenever and wherever possible. Minimum of 2 weeks must be completed by new recruits. After working with new recruits from 2-4 weeks the organizer must decide on whether or not the recruit will serve the revolution & the people. He (new recruit) must be given the option of deciding on working with the network or another branch of the Revolutionary Action Party. Once in the network there is no quitting. Anyone who tries to quit or desert must be put to death! Example should be made of these villainous cowards and traitors. Those accepted for the Revolutionary Action Party must be thoroughly dedicated only to the R.A.P. and should be ready to mobilize themselves whenever and wherever requested to do so. What happens, after organizing on a 10-10-10 basis, is that you then become the head of a network of at least one hundred people and it will grow larger. You are to talk to each of your ten people separately, even if they know one another. Under no circumstances are they to reveal your name to anyone, not even your code name. You are to keep in touch with those people you contact and train, but that contact must be minimal unless it is a situation where you normally see each other. It may be that some person you have confidence in, does not know ten people. This is acceptable and

he can still be counted on since there will be different functions.

(2) Never use the telephone for discussions of any political questions. Under no circumstances are RAP Brothers and Sisters to speak of revolution on the phone or in public. Never use the telephone unless it is for usual business. This is to be adhered to at all times. It is good policy to even make business calls from pay phones if they involve some of your contacts. We must minimize the use of the phone, and under no circumstances are you to discuss business on the phone. This is must. JUSTICE WILL FLOW FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN IF THE SAID IS VIOLATED AT ANY TIME.

(3) REMEMBER: telephones are mostly tapped. Telephone taps, bugging devices (houses) and infiltrators are the three ways that the authorities use to trap revolutionaries and frame them up.

(4) PLAY MUSIC OR A TELEVISION SET OR RUN WATER AT HOME OR IN HOUSES WHEN TALKING. All discussions must be done on the outside; all information must be exchanged under cover (inside of buildings, restaurants, houses). This rule is to be applied to houses that you think are clean. It will maximize your protection. Play Music when driving cars & talking. We can not take any chances on anything not being bugged. The man is not invincible, however we must take our time and be extra careful...

(5) Minimize contact with your people and only contact them when it is absolutely necessary. Brothers & Sisters must be contacted at least once a month to have them go on maneuvers. Contact should be made when absolutely necessary.

(6) Never reveal names. Never reveal the names of the persons who contacted you to anyone. The people you contacted must never reveal your name under any circumstances and this extend throughout the network. Keep everything secret and if anyone approaches you with the same type of information you are to listen and say you will do what you can do. It is quite possible that there may be some duplication in this type of network but under no circumstances do you reveal that you have been contacted before. Pretend ignorance and don't promise too much. At the same time you don't want to sound like a fool if someone has trust in you. Tell him or her you will do what you can do and if he is not willing to accept that, then he should be reported to your superior.

War names must be accepted. People in your respective units must know you by your war name, or code name only (If they must (all people in your unit) know you it must be through your code name). It should be common practice to accept Irish or Jewish names—this will be done to confuse the enemy. These names should be adopted, but should not be exorbitant, for example: you should not except a name such as Morty Moskowitz or Joshua Zuckerman; names, however, such as John O'Brian, Bill Flannigan, Terry Goldman, or Billy Kupers. Names should not be accepted of those people whom you know, unless it is the name of an "uncle tom" or a reactionary.

You will be known to your unit(s) or platoon only as your war name. Identification should be duplicated or developed to support your name (in case you are picked up by authorities).....Birth certificates (phony) Licenses, credit cards, and/or anything with your picture on it.

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ALL IDENTIFICATION MUST BE COVERED IN PLASTIC, TO MAKE IT LOOK LEGITIMATE. (this can be done by locating a library, or private concession shop)

(7) DEVELOP PATIENCE. (a good exercise in patience would be to go fishing for at least 6 hours at a time) Because a brother or Sister does not have vanguard conscience as you, their opinions are to be respected just the same as if they had this conscience. But, they should be told when they are incorrect. There must be discipline. This will be a long range protracted struggle and people must wait before action is often taken for the opportune time. Discipline must flow from total commitment to the objectives we are talking about, but people must understand that this is not a game and DISCIPLINE WILL FLOW FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN.

(8) BEWARE OF PROBERS AND THOSE WHO SEEK TO KNOW TOO MUCH OR KEEP ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NETWORK. One needs to know only that which he needs to know. Probers should be questioned and/or tortured if necessary to get information as to their validity. NO ONE WILL KNOW ALL!

(9) THE NETWORK MUST BE CLOISTERED. Organizing should be done on a 10-10-10 basis. It must be organized into horizontal and vertical zones. Everybody will not do the same thing and the people must not know each other and they will not know each other. Therefore, the police cannot "bust" the entire network on some trumped up charges for they will have to "bust" the entire population. You must be willing to work hard and to organize on a ten-ten-ten concept. This must be done very clandestinely.

(10) BEWARE OF THOSE PEOPLE PROPOSING MILITANT AND DRASTIC ACTIONS IN PUBLIC MEETINGS AND WHO SAY DANGEROUS THINGS IN FRONT OF PEOPLE THEY DO NOT KNOW. They are most likely police agitators. These people must be avoided at all costs.

(11) CHECK THE HISTORY, THE SOCIAL ORIGIN, THE CLASS BACKGROUND OF THOSE YOU TALK TO. Check his references and see if he is lying or telling the truth. This is important for the network as well as you. A dozier must be kept on all those people who are potential recruits.

(12) CHECK A PERSON'S QUALITIES AS A WORKER AND AS A MAN OR WOMAN. Observe his behavior and determine how much courage and tenacity he has or if he is a person who flees from task to task. He will be un-reliable if he cannot stick to a function. A DON JUAN IS DANGEROUS AND WILL HURT IN THE LONG RUN. A man who does not respect women is un-reliable. A drunkard is not to be touched. A pot smoker is apt to be an opportunist and un-controllable, and runs the risk of getting caught with some pot and may have some vital papers on him. Because those cats who wave a nickel bag in your face (nickel bag of pot), there is a direct connection with the police even though he may not know it. Pot is permitted in this country only with the cooperation of the police. We are trying to build a new world and there are those things that are not needed. In this profession, a clear head must be maintained at all times. One's life must be the revolution and only the revolution.

(13) CHECK A MAN'S IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION. We do not have time to waste on those who are committed to CAPITALISM for they will sell you out! This does not mean however, that you should not make contact with housewives, workers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers. You should tell from experience whether they are ready to help. Their help is much needed if nothing other than financial reasons, and it will be more difficult for the government troops and assorted stooge co-conspirators to reach them. Talk to the masses, for they are more ready than some of us think.

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(14) AVOID ALL PUBLIC MEETINGS WHERE THE POLICE ARE USUALLY IN FULL FORCE OBSERVING THE MILITANTS AND TAKING PICTURES. It is a good rule not to be in public unless it is necessary, you have to be, and if you are into some heavy stuff then you stay away completely.

(15) WORK IN FRONT GROUPS. We need people in all the groups of this society. One does not have to be in the forefront with the lights glaring on him. You must avoid completely these circumstances. Stay in the back ground where one will last longer and do more work for the network.

(16) REMAIN CLANDESTINE. Try to get people who have never been involved in militant groups and try to get them to stay there. Their contribution is best served by remaining clandestine.

(17) AVOID LOOSE TALK IN A MEETING OR AT PARTIES. Keep quiet and observe the talk of others. Ask leading questions to find out where people are (without exposing yourself). Make mental notes about people. Loose talk about revolution will get you into big trouble if there is an agent around, but that does not mean you do not seek information from those present.

(18) CHANGE LOCATION OF MEETINGS. NO MEETING SHALL BE HELD TWICE IN THE SAME PLACE CONSECUTIVELY. Vary your social spots. Don't be seen frequently at the same parties, gatherings, etc. You will be required to infiltrate various organizations. You can not do this successfully without being recognized if you are too well known.

(19) SECRECY: CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE, CONSTANT MISTRUST, AND CONSTANT MOBILITY. Be very careful of what you tell your girl or your wife. They can sometimes form protective covers if they do not know too much. Also women must be very careful of what they tell their husband. This is not to say that a man and his wife cannot make a team, at times they make the best teams. But, it has been proven that often people who are married or going together are not completely agreed upon the principles of revolution and there will be times when either husband or wife will have to leave to take care of other network business without the other understanding why they are leaving. This type of revolutionary discipline must be understood. The revolution is the greatest love.

(20) ALWAYS PRINT OR TYPE MESSAGES TO BE DELIVERED TO OTHER PEOPLE. MISTAKES AND MIS-~~IN~~FORMATION WILL BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS. ANYONE NOT ADHERING TO THESE PRINCIPLES SHALL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION COUNCIL (R.A.C.)

(21) GET A "CLEAN" TELEPHONE NUMBER, BUT NEVER GIVE OUT THE NAME OF THE PERSON TO WHOM THE TELEPHONE BELONGS. Instruct them in the rules of security so they will know the importance of the calls they are receiving. You must give your contacts a code name if they are to call you at a telephone number which is "clean" number being a pseudonym. (false name). Always talk with a handkerchief over your mouth (the person to whom you are calling must know of your pseudo-nym to avoid being taken for an agent.) There are voice detectors that can recognize your voice, hence, no one has the same voice vibrations, or waves.

(22) IN BOTH THE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE AND THE NEW "CLEAN" ADDRESS FOR THE MAIL, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THEY ARE NOT TO COME TO YOUR HOUSE AND GIVE YOU MESSAGES; Better still, it is better if they send someone with a message. People should not use the mail or make a call unless it is absolutely vital and necessary and this must be adhered to at all times (the only exception is that the brother sending materials through the mail should get stationary (envelopes) from other christian organizations such as the methodist church, etc.)

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(23) USE CODE NAMES. USE DIFFERENT NAMES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. TRY TO GET DUPLICATE IDENTIFICATION.

(24) MAKE ALL COLLECTIONS OF MONEY IN CASH AND SEEK OUT THOSE PEOPLE WHO WILL GIVE THE FUNDS, FOR WITHOUT THEM THE NETWORK WILL NOT SURVIVE AND PEOPLE MUST BEGIN TO MAKE SACRIFICES WITH MONEY THEY EARN. THEY SHOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE 10% of their salaries to the network, for it cannot have fund-raising parties or public collections; Everything will have to be done in secrecy.

(25) SPEAK THE REVERSE. If you are a man, assume a code name of a man. If you want to meet on wednesday, then arrange that beforehand. And if one of your contacts should happen to send a message saying "lets meet wednesday", then you know that it is thursday. That is extra protection.

(26) OBSERVE TO SEE IF FOLLOWED. This is easier at night when the streets are not so crowded, but it can be done during the day. If you think you are being followed, walk two blocks to the left or right out of your way. Glance behind you to see different people have on (colors, types of clothing, etc.) Walk one or more blocks out of the way. Remember what each person has on. Take those streets that are not too crowded. It should be very easy to spot one or more persons you think are following you.

(27) POLICE INFILTRATORS MUST BE KILLED, ESPECIALLY IF THEY STAND UP IN COURT AND TESTIFY AGAINST A BROTHER OR SISTER THAT HE HAS INFILTRATED THIS OR THAT DEPARTMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION PARTY. One must be careful about calling someone an informer and under no circumstances should anyone shaky be allowed into the network. Brothers & Sisters of the R.A.P. should go to all trials when Brothers have been "busted" because of infiltrators (in the court room, pay attention to (1) name of informer (2) badge number (3) precinct, and if possible, (4) his or hers address. It is possible that someone will talk to an agent or informer, but he will not know the extent of the network and if he probes too much then you know he has to be eliminated.

(28) RECORDS SHOULD BE KEPT OF INFORMERS IN HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL (Method of deviding the community into zones) ZONES SO THAT THEY CAN BE WATCHED, AND WHEN THE THE OPPORTUNITY AFFORDS ITSELF, THEY SHOULD BE ASSASSINATED.

(29) We are trying to infiltrate every branch of government and all the agencies. We want to be everywhere gathering intelligence and information and the enemy will never know who is who is we are careful and observe these rules.

(30) Unless you are well known it is not a good policy to give out your address to people. The fewer people who know where you live the better it is for you. And if you are really involved in some heavy things, then only the person to whom you are responsible should know how to contact you.

(31) Be patient with all people. The government of the United States has tried to sow dissention among the ranks of Black people and make us all afraid of each other. That is why there are these periodic frame-ups such as the statue of liberty case

where the police initiated the action and then framed the militants. The RAM arrest in the summer of 1968 was designed to frighten the population. The history of Black people in this country who have been framed by the police should teach us all that everything that we do must be done in secrecy. And we will not make revolution by shouting it and identifying all the militants. This we will stop.

(32) We must get to the very young people to study the sciences, electronics and other revolutionary skills that can be useful for the long range struggle. We must get the older people to help us in any manner they can. Most of them are more prepared to help than we realize and we must spend time with them explaining that we are fighting for a new world, free of racism, capitalism and imperialism, wars, police brutality, hunger, bad housing, sickness, inadequate medical facilities. We must seek their support if only financially and places for us to hide. When we talk to them, they too are a part of the network, for we have revealed ourselves.

(33) Do not be afraid of risk. Be careful, but one must take risks. Contact those you know best first, but do not be afraid to expend your contacts. At this stage we must have mass support. And we can only get mass support by working hard each day, talking to people about the need for secret organization and showing them what it can accomplish. Do not argue in groups. Remember talk one to another. Be patient and be committed.

(34) Arm yourselves and store your weapons in secure places. The right wing and the police are well armed and we are not at this point of development.

(35) Patience, discipline, the future is ours if we learn secrecy, and more secrecy and if we organize and develop a sixth sense. The police and security agents in this country are powerful and they are trying to recruit more young Black people to help them, but they are not invincible and if we take the long view of history, we will win without a doubt.

(36) Study the revolutionary works of Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Che Gueverra, Mao Tse Tung, Lenin, Marx, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, General Giap and all others concerned with revolution. Study not only African history but the history of Latin America and Asia.

(37) There will be tests imposed upon the entire network to see how efficient it is, how fast can secret communiques be issued, who is responsible, who has betrayed confidence, and who must be eliminated by whatever means necessary. We are building a new society, but secrecy and discipline and a passion for the liberation of Blacks is a must and this means one must have patience. Things will happen in this country but they can only happen if there is proper organization and a secret mobilization of the population. We are not interested in anyone who feels he needs to wear a uniform to mark him as a revolutionary. We are not interested in anyone who has uncontrollable ego problems. We want firm, disciplined, committed men and women, young and old who will work for the revolution so that the oppression which has marked our lives can be ended. We organize this resistance for the new day, the creation of the new man, the new society where the wealth is not concentrated in the hands of a few but belongs to the people. We organize and we are ready to die for the African continent and the liberation fighters in Latin America, the Carribeans, Asia, all of whom suffer from the domination of the United States as we do.

(38) We are firmly aware that the United States government considers Black people

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as surplus "items" in this country and is moving to exterminate us. We are also aware we must have a black resistance movement for survival. Therefore the Revolutionary Action Party has decided to launch a massive black underground, a massive resistance movement in this country. We call upon all those who are contacted to work day and night to enlarge the resistance network so that we may survive and wage revolutionary warfare in the United States. The Revolutionary Action Party is as secret as the Black Resistance Movement, but victory or death is our cry and we shall deal harshly with those who betray us, as we intend to deal with the United States government. In other words, we will kill those who betray us and we know only organized violence will make a revolution in the United States.

LASIMA TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA! POWER TO THE
PEOPLE!